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The Mass Movement Toward Christianity

By Alison Reid Bryan

The following article was not written as an article for WOMEN AND MISSIONS, but consists of paragraphs and passages from the thesis prepared by Mr. Bryan for his academic degree when at home this past year. He is now on his way back to India, where he has charge of evangelistic work at Kodoli. He secured much of his material in this paper from observation in his own particular field in western India.

"THE old order changeth." Missionary heroes, the romance of missions, the saintliness of the foreign missionary, are still concepts found in a certain type of book; but any one who is not years behind the times knows into what a new world the foreign missionary enterprise has entered, most noticeable since the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910. Formerly heathen lands, hopelessly far away, constituted a call for the daring, almost reckless type of pioneer. Now, while lands are still heathen, their inhabitants bear to us a close relation. Floating hotels transport the missionary in three weeks to points where formerly five months of travel were required. The Pacific and the Atlantic have been crossed in the air. The world is shrinking, and problems of the heathen lands come uncomfortably close to us. They are to be solved not by missionary knight errants clad in a mythical armor of saintliness, but by close study and earnest, organized effort.

One of the outstanding, as well as one of the most absorbing and challenging problems of the present day is found in India. We refer to the Mass Movement. While there are social and economic elements sufficiently striking in this great movement to offer enticing fields of inquiry, the vital core of its significance lies in its direction *towards Christianity*. The phenomenon of large groups presenting themselves at one time as candidates for membership in the Christian Church

has broadened, if it has not altered, our conception of the meaning of the church. The Mass Movement has compelled us to define again what the church means.

Hitherto the Mass Movement has taken place almost entirely among the outcastes. But there is no reason it should not extend to the upper castes. It has shown itself much in accordance with the genius of the Indian temperament, to which communal action is far more congenial than individual, due to long centuries of training under the caste system. There is urgent need of taking advantage of it now, as past history of similar movements reveals an ebb and flow.

"It is the glory of our cause in India, as it has been in all lands, during all the history of our faith, that it did not begin with the upper stratum of society and work downward, but rather began at the bottom, and is working upward."

So write a large group of missionaries, who, rather than bemoaning the drabness of their lives spent among the poor and the socially inferior, glory that God has chosen this way. They rejoice to have part in so marvelous a transformation of a nation within a nation, a transformation that is bringing to Christ, through the Mass Movement, as many as God wills of the vast outcaste group of 58,000,000 still remaining outside the church. Five-sixths of all converts in the last ten years have come from the outcastes. The total population in the last ten years increased by only 7 per cent,

while the Indian Christian population increased over 35 per cent.

The special areas where the Mass Movement seems most significant are the field of the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England at Tinnevely, Travancore; the Telegu Country in South India, and the United Provinces and Punjab in North India; the American Baptist fields in the Guntur District and the Telegu Country; the Wesleyan fields, especially in Hyderabad Deccan; the American Methodist Episcopal fields in many different parts of India; the American Presbyterian and the United Presbyterian fields in the Punjab; and finally the general area, part of which includes fields mentioned above, under the supervision of the South India United Church.

Tinnevely was the scene of the first Mass Movement in 1802. It is the oldest church in India, excepting the Syrian Church of the south and its associated bodies. It is self-supporting, with 66,000 members, and 34,000 baptized non-communicants. It is the oldest daughter of the Church of England in India, and she is well proud of her.

In viewing the Indian Mass Movement, we should gain a valuable point of view in a brief comparison with mass movements in other countries. Especially is the African mass movement of significance in the lessons it can bring.

"We so often speak in the same breath of the mass movements in India and Africa, that it is well to remember that there is a great difference in the character of these movements in the two countries. In the affected areas of Africa, it is often a general movement of a whole people, and the first to catch the vision is the most progressive among them, the chiefs often leading the way. In India, on the other hand, only the depressed classes are concerned. . . . In Africa those who wish to become Christians are prepared to pay their teachers and build their houses. In India the extreme poverty of the people makes this impossible. Again, in India the one underlying desire is to rise to the heights of the better people of their own country, whereas in Africa the European is the standard aimed at. . . . In Africa the civilization is lower than it is in India, and there is no literature; leaders therefore cannot be found, as in some measure they can in India, from converts of a more educated class, but must come through the education provided by the Christian Church."

The dangers of the Mass Movement are of course apparent; hasty preparation,

early baptism and the constant lowering of the standard of the church; the ignorance of the Christians and their inevitable failures, which have a deterring effect on others who may be looking toward the church; pre-occupation by the outcaste, leaving no place for the caste people—so we might dwell at length on the dangers and snares of the movement. But the fruits of the movement are equally obvious. Through social and economic improvement, the people come in a surprisingly short time to a truly spiritual attitude, which is the more wonderful when it is viewed against the background of their devil-worship and animism.

Manu's lawbook indicates what has been the position of the outcaste since time immemorial in the Hindu social system.

"The abode of the Chandala (outcaste) must be out of the town. They must not have the use of entire vessels; their sole wealth must be dogs and asses. Their clothes must be mantles of the deceased; their dishes for food, broken pots; their ornaments, rusty iron; continually must they roam from place to place. Let no man who regards his duty, religious or civil, hold any intercourse with them; let their transactions be confined to themselves, and their marriages be only between equals. Let food be given to them in potsherds, but not by the hand of the giver; and let them not move about by night in cities and towns."

How these miserable people came to occupy such a place in Indian society is a matter of conjecture, not history. The supposition is that the Aryan invaders of India, in order to keep their own blood and institutions pure, instituted the caste system. The priests at the head were followed by the warriors, the traders, the farmers, the servants, and below and outside the caste system, the large number of the more ignorant and benighted who were to perform the very necessary menial and degrading tasks of the community. How they were to be kept in their place, treated as untouchable, because any intercourse with them would constitute both a civil and religious sin, the Law of Manu makes abundantly plain. How effective this subjection became is illustrated to this day. When a Brahman passes down the village street, in order to avoid polluting even the air in the vicinity, the outcaste hastens, not

merely to the side of the road, but some distance off it, and stands there calling out, "Unclean, unclean!" as if he were some repulsive leper.

That the Hindu caste system has been powerful enough to keep 60,000,000 slaves in their hopeless position for so many centuries is sufficient testimony to its effectiveness. In this day and age of wonders and changes, caste's omnipotent sway seems to be weakening. A ferment is seething in this great mass of the untouchables. The dumb millions are becoming vocal, and the hitherto inert mass is becoming animate. While the influence of the British government and contact with the West through trade and travel are contributing causes, the missionary propaganda in India has without doubt been the chief agency in the awakening of these depressed classes. "Hindus are far from thinking missions a failure."

There is the highest testimonial possible to the effect of Christianity on the changed lives of the outcaste. Some of it is tacit, as when caste people, even Brahmans, send their children to a school taught by a Christian who formerly was an outcaste, or when parents permit their children to sit in school with the children of Christians formerly from the untouchables. Some of the recognition that in becoming a Christian an outcaste has become a different being, is openly expressed.

Banquets where people of all castes eat together and where a common cup of water is passed around from which the high caste drink after the outcaste has drunk, are no longer startling, even if they are not of common occurrence. One such feast at Madras included pariahs (South India outcastes), Christians, (formerly pariahs), Mohammedans, and high caste non-Brahman landholders, to the total number of 300.

When it is remembered that these people are coming out of such deep social and economic pits, it will not be thought strange that they are still somewhat bemired with motives other than purely spiritual. Is it not the most natural thing for a man to want to better his condition in this life, as well as be saved in the life to come? But that there is a large proportion of spiritual motive

among those who break away from their old life is abundantly evident. Their endurance of persecution, and the fact that so few ever return to their caste because of it, seems sufficient proof.

"A young man, Nagappa, while holding family prayer, was taken by the hair of his head, and dragged out to the police station and cruelly beaten. When asked why he did not write to the missionary and let him report this injustice, he said, 'They have not nailed me to the cross yet, and my Jesus was nailed to the cross for me. He did not save me that I might have an easy time; I am willing to suffer for his sake, that I may lead those who persecute me to Christ.'"

To show the earnestness of their motives, whether strongly spiritual or not, there is the story of a young Mohammedan, Gulab Khan. He was six feet, seven and one-half inches tall, and broad in proportion. Gulab showed himself as strong of purpose as he was tall of stature. He came wanting to be baptized at once. As tactfully as possible, the missionary suggested a delay of a few weeks or months, that he might have time to push back the rather narrow boundaries of his ignorance of the Christian life. With his tall frame drooping dejectedly, Gulab departed. Only a few days had passed when he returned with a loaded revolver and told the missionary, in no uncertain terms, and emphasizing his point with a deadly aim of the revolver, that he would shoot him if he did not baptize him at once.

Aside from the oppression of the caste system, there are other causes operating to inaugurate and continue the Mass Movement. Of these causes, famine is perhaps outstanding. The great ingatherings in Ongole began just after the famine of 1877-1878. The movement in the Modak area of the Wesleyan Church began shortly after the splendid relief work during the famine of 1913-1914. In our Presbyterian area in Western India the beginnings of a church of any considerable size came after the famine of 1900, when distress in Kodoli, Kolhapur state, was greatly relieved by missionary efforts. So in a review of practically each one of the Mass Movement areas we would find that either gratitude or a spirit of inquiry arising at the time of famine relief had led the

common people to a state of willingness for instruction and baptism. While many of those thus baptized may have fallen away, it would be a difficult task to prove that all such baptisms had been a mistake. On the other hand, in this way some of our strongest churches have been established.

Land-hunger, especially in the Punjab where the government has set aside certain reserves for the Christians, has been a contributing cause. Under the caste system, or under the local grafting official, the outcaste knows he will never gain any share in the village land.

In the new day that is dawning in India, it is natural, too, that a desire for education should have its part as a contributory cause of the movements toward Christianity. The outcaste sees in education the opportunity to escape from the dismal oppression that his abysmal ignorance has chained upon him. In the mission school he sees the door to a new life.

The constant village evangelism, both by the missionary and his native assistants, the village school and the effective championing by the missionary of the cause of the outcaste in local quarrels and against dishonest officials, are of considerable importance, too. The hospital and dispensary work, which in our Western India Mission of the Presbyterian Church has reached immense proportions, also goes far in breaking down race and religious prejudices.

Again, when the headman of a village and his people become Christian and the general condition of the village is improved, it makes a tremendous impression on the surrounding villages, which are already more or less in a ferment of dissatisfaction with their impossible lot. If the key man of a section or group be won, it is not long before others will follow.

The Mass Movement naturally brings up the idea of group salvation, which has been discussed in certain quarters. We have defined the movement as one toward Christianity. It does bring people under Christian influence, but they do not become true Christians *en masse*. That is the product of their own effort, directed by the training given them. Some who come in the movement grow hard even

though they are taught. The group feeling or consciousness carries them a certain way, but the last and most important part of the journey is an individual affair. They have broken with the past and become open to the influences of Christ, aided thereto by the actions of their fellowmen in large numbers. But how they respond to this influence, and how they obey the first simple and later more detailed demands upon them, is a matter for the individual conscience, unaided by what the other members of the group may be doing.

The church in India seems committed to the Mass Movement. The main question is how to deal with what is before us. How much further foreign missionaries may guide these mass movements is not clear. Certain it is that there is crying need for Indian leaders, who may understand and direct the people in accordance with the full genius and character of their mind and heart.

The war seriously affected mission work in India by the withdrawal of forces, already inadequate to cope with the increasing demands of the Mass Movement. The British societies had to reduce their missionaries and support, and a great gap was left by the dismissal of the German missionaries. The extent of their work and the utter impossibility of already overburdened and under-staffed British and American missions making any adequate provision for that abandoned work is indicated by the figures of the German societies as given in their annual reports.

If the brave missionary pioneers of faith are to have fulfilled their hope for the establishment of Christ's Kingdom among these despised of the earth, if the Mass Movement is to be justified by the provision of means for Christianization after evangelization, the church at home must rise to her task. The Lord is saying today to each one of the great churches working in the Mass Movement areas:

"Launch out into the deep, and let down your nets for a draught."

"So they who had launched out into the deep returned to their deep-sea fishing, full of new joy."


"And the heart of the Master was glad."

Global Evangelization Movement: The AD 2000 Series

COSMOS, CHAOS, AND GOSPEL

A chronology of world evangelization from
Creation to New Creation

David B. Barrett

Some materials relating to this
year's ASM theme. I've
highlighted in yellow 
a few places that might
interest you.

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epochs or pulsations in Christian history (shown as sub-titles in capital letters) using terminology coined by the historian K.S. Latourette and modified and expanded here: the origin of the 7 major ecclesiastical blocs and over 150 ecclesiastical traditions detailed in the *World Christian encyclopedia* (1982); the founding of Christian work in every continent, nation, country, and territory; the conversion or christianization of whole peoples; notable foreign missionary enterprises to other lands; the founding of major missionary boards, societies, and orders; statistics of Christian expansion; revival and renewal movements; major recessions or setbacks to Christianity, schisms and apostasies; church unions, mass movements into the churches; major international evangelistic campaigns; translations of the Bible into the world's languages; major technical innovations facilitating evangelization; predictions of theologians and churchmen over these 2,000 years concerning the anticipated imminent advent of Christ and also of the Antichrist; background data on science, scientific discoveries, and science fiction of importance and relevance to world evangelization; and other significant events in the history of the spread of Christianity. A majority of these Christian events are noted or further explained in the wider Christian context in the above Encyclopedia in its Tables 2 or in the texts on countries in its Part 7.

The presentation and language used here are standardized to a large degree. Note in particular that the spelling '1st', '2nd', '3rd', etc refers to the official titles of a series of regular conferences, whereas the spelling 'First', 'Second', 'Third', etc refers to other types of situation.

In Appendix I is a statistical table showing the numerical expansion of both evangelization (evangelized peoples) and of Christianity (total Christians) across the continents of the world throughout these 20 centuries, at regular intervals through historical time. These statistics are repeated in Cosmic Era II of the chronology at 29 historical turning-points or watersheds at which we summarize the *Global status* (printed in boldface type for quick identification) of Christianity and world evangelization.

The chronology and its format in Cosmic Era II are designed to display with clarity 3 particular emphases: (1) expansion of Christianity over time, i.e. over the whole period of Christian history, illustrated by the 10 major epochs or pulsations in Christian history; (2) expansion in numbers, i.e. the numerical growth of evangelization and of Christians, churches, dioceses, movements, et alia, especially for those few occasions before the year 1800 where detailed statistics were collected; and (3) geographical expansion to all nations and peoples. To give an overview of this latter emphasis (3), Cosmic Era II gives in *italics*, once only, the name of every country in the world (as existing in 1987, with names and frontiers as today) with the year when Christianity first reached it and ongoing or definitive evangelization began (i.e. arrival of the first resident Christians or missionaries, excluding any earlier temporary or short visits), giving details in parentheses of the agents involved.

The third cosmic era: from New Creation to Consummation in Christ

Cosmic Era III. **The Futurology of World Evangelization**, projects past and present trends into the future and examines alternate futures and possible scenarios. It presents an eschato-

scientific overview of the future, in 2 parts.

First is given the Christian eschatological schema of the biblical End-time. For this, no future dates are possible nor can any be suggested. No exact apocalyptic timetable can ever be proposed. Christians of all confessions are agreed that the Parousia or Second Advent of Christ could occur today, or tomorrow, or in a year's time, or 100 years, or 1,000 years, or a million years, or a billion years. On this subject, the final word is: 'It is not for you to know times or seasons which the Father has fixed by his own authority.' (Acts 1:7, RSV).

Second is given a religio-scientific composite scenario of alternative futures, for both secular and religious concerns. It **includes both optimum scenarios, and worst-case scenarios**. For these, numerous future dates suggested by experts are given. The combination describes the future age, the New Age, the Last Age, the New Creation as it moves toward its consummation, against the background of the secular world. From our point of view as Christians, these materials help us to view the future and to think out what the meaning is of that central biblical affirmation 'God will sum up all things in Christ'.

The reader who wishes to make sense of the method and the material of this venture into both biblical and secular futures should be sure to read the separate explanations given at the beginning of Cosmic Era III. The introduction to part (a) concerns the Christian eschatological schema. The introduction at the start of part (b) concerns the religio-scientific composite scenario.

Our main approach to futurology is that espoused by the mainline discipline known as futurology, future studies, or futures research—forecasting using alternate futures. That is to say, we draw up not one single scenario but a range of scenarios taking into account the various possibilities that might emerge. **This forecasting is not the same as prophecy, nor prediction, nor predestination, nor soothsaying, nor divining, nor fortune-telling, nor horoscopy (drawing up horoscopes), nor clairvoyance, nor crystal ball-gazing.** (Note, however, that we do include notable cases of both biblical and extrabiblical prophecy and prediction).

As mission futurists, then, we are not claiming any special insight into the future. We don't know any better than our non-futurist colleagues what will happen in the future. But we should know better than non-futurists what could happen. We are therefore speaking only in terms of probabilities, possibilities, options, and consequences. We are simply exploring multiple future options and alternatives, in any of which we ourselves can become directly involved if we so wish.

Futurology speaks mainly about corporate life and society. It does also say a great deal about your future life as an individual. But it has clear limits. The United Nations' 2-yearly publication *World population prospects* tells us the probable mortality rate every 5 years up to AD 2025, in every country of the world. It tells you how many people will die in your country in 38 years' time. But it cannot tell you, the reader, what you yourself will be doing in 5 years' time, nor when you will die. Before too long, however, even that may be possible as medical researchers examine your genes in great depth.

Futurology today has become a professional science which has built up over 150 techniques including the delphi method in which the opinions of a variety of experts on some futurist

topic are separately polled and analyzed by computer. It also gives plenty of scope to common sense, group discussion, research, and such activities as 'blue-skying'—the art of conjecture, speculation, thinking, and discussing in 'What if...' terms on the particular topics we are interested in.

Let us consider a concrete situation in the future, namely: Could the world become fully evangelized by AD 2000 with North American foreign missionaries alone accomplishing the task?

First, the futurist considers this future situation and thinks about 3 different kinds of future: (1) the possible future, (2) the probable future, and (3) the preferable future. For each, he then thinks out not just a single future but at least 2 alternate futures.

Regarding (1), one alternate future is that this task would be impossible for North Americans alone. The logistics of evangelizing in 7,000 different languages would surely defeat them. At the other extreme, it could be regarded as *possible* that North Americans might finish the task alone but only if certain conditions were met. Thinking it over, the futurist would write down the conditions: there would have to be greatly increased missionary enthusiasm in North America, continued expanding financial and logistical support from the churches, continued tolerance of their missionaries abroad, continued permission from non-Christian governments for them to reside in their countries, and a number of technological breakthroughs in communication in those 7,000 languages.

Regarding (2), this AD 2000 goal may well be possible but not probable: 67 countries are closed to resident foreign missions today, and this total is increasing by 3 more countries every year. If this residence barrier were overcome, it might then become *probable*; otherwise, it seems improbable.

Regarding (3), even if the AD 2000 goal were both possible and probable, it might still not be *preferable*. Such an important task should not be left to only one part of the Christian church. It would be much better if foreign missionaries from Third-World countries and Communist countries also had their full share in completing world evangelization.

This latter aspect of futurology emphasizes that the future is not predestined or deterministic; to a considerable degree, we can control the future. We can create a better world if we have the will and make the effort.

There is a distinction, too, between 2 equally important types of scientific conjecture or science forecasting: (a) scientific probabilistic predictions, and (b) science fiction. Examples of the former are an astronomer's forecast that the Sun has 8 billion more years of life left, or the incredibly detailed scenarios that cosmologists now think probable for the end of our Universe's life (described here for the dates between AD 8 billion and AD 10^{100} years). By contrast, science fiction is less concerned with probable futures and more concerned with speculating about possible futures. The first science fiction that has survived was penned in BC 414 by the Greek dramatist Aristophanes, who was also the first known writer to use the Greek word *euangelizesthai* (evangelize). Many Christians down the ages have written noteworthy science fiction: today, many writers are physicists, or astronomers, or other scientists; several are even Nobel laureates. Science fiction has been called 'the most significant literature of our day', even 'the only worthwhile literature of the 20th century'. This genre of literature helps to stimulate

people's imagination concerning the future, and so a number of the more outstanding works are included in the chronology.

Note that the chronology includes at least one entry for every individual year from AD 1830-2030. Also, for the period 1960-2000, within each year many conferences and events are given their exact month and even days or dates, in which case they are arranged chronologically within that year. Other undated entries are also arranged approximately chronologically within their years.

At the end of the whole chronology, the diagram in Appendix 3 sets out the patterns of fission and fusion which have characterized Christianity over its 20 centuries of history, and sets out also 4 scenarios concerning its likely or possible development in the future.

7-phase typologies of Creation

There are many ways in which the data in this chronology could be divided up or classified into categories. Cosmic Era II does this by dividing the history of the Christian church into 9 epochs based on the ebb and flow of the fortunes of Christianity. In the same way, the entire chronology, which is the story of Creation itself—past, present, and future—can also be divided and classified in this manner.

As with any research situation, we can clarify our thinking by asking the 7 basic questions concerning the situation: What? When? Where? How? Whence? Whither? Why? If people are involved, we can ask a further question: Who?

Our chronology aids this process of understanding by incorporating 3 interestingly parallel ways of classifying the entire creation process. These are set out below. Further details on these phases or levels can be found in the chronology under the dates or references given below in parentheses.

(a) *Seven Days of Creation*. From the perspective of biblical revelation, the Book of Genesis, chapter 1, speaks of God's creative acts under the category of 7 Days (or eras, or epochs, of indeterminate length). On these Days God created the following (referenced here not by chronological dates but by reference to Genesis 1):

1. Light (Genesis 1:3-4).
2. Firmament, heaven, atmosphere, waters (Genesis 1:6-8).
3. Dry land, seas, plants, vegetation, fruits (Genesis 1:9-13).
4. Sun, Moon, stars (Genesis 1:14-16).
5. Living creatures, fish, birds, reptiles (Genesis 1:20-23).
6. Land animals, insects, domestic animals, mankind (Genesis 1:24-27).
7. Sabbath rest (Genesis 2:2).

(b) *Seven Stages of Creation*. Modern science recognizes a number of stages in which differing material was created or began after the Big Bang, as follows:

1. Energy, matter, antimatter, atoms, particles (BC 19 billion).
2. Light, quasars, galaxies, stars, dark matter (BC 17 billion).
3. Solar System, planets, Earth, Moon (BC 5 billion).
4. Life on Earth: algae, bacteria (BC 3.5 billion).
5. Species: 500 million varieties (BC 400 million).

6. Mind: the human race (BC 5.5 million).
 7. Community, history, culture, philosophy, art, religion (BC 5 million to 500,000).
- (c) *Seven Levels of Evolution*. Protagonists of evolution—whether evolution by a host of miniscule steps or evolution by a few massive quantum leaps—speak of 7 levels of evolution beginning at the dates shown in parentheses:
1. Energy (BC 19 billion).
 2. Matter (BC 19 billion).
 3. Life (BC 3.5 billion).
 4. Mind (BC 5.5 million).
 5. Supermind (AD 2030).
 6. Galactic Mind (AD 500 million).
 7. Cosmic Mind (AD 5 billion): universal consciousness.

These 3 schemes cannot yet be equated or combined. Each is looking at Creation from a differing standpoint. But the idea of a 7-fold progress in God's creative activity is common to all three. They provide a striking indication of the value of these differing standpoints.

Sources

Over 90 percent of the 5,000 entries in this chronology have sizeable bibliographical support in the literature. They are therefore not speculative, nor unverifiable; they are adequately documented and based on acceptable and accepted evidence. For each there is at least one reference, that is a significant book or article documenting its validity.

So, for example, the 2 sections at the end of Cosmic Era II headed 'STATUS OF THE COSMOS, 1988' and 'STATUS OF THE WORLD, 1988' give the best thinking of experts, and the most accurate data currently available, on a whole variety of subjects impinging on global mission and world evangelization. These 2 sections do not incorporate futures thinking; they deal with the actual, factual situation today, with the latest available statistics. The fact that we here have no room to document the sources should not be allowed to undermine their credibility.

In the same way, this formidable documentary support is true even of apparently legendary, controversial, or speculative material. Consider the legend of the lost continent of Atlantis (see BC 12,000, 10,500, 9350). Some Christians regard it as the site of the original Garden of Eden. The story of Atlantis has been supported since Plato in BC 390 by a vast corpus of literature. Up to the present day, this now totals over 5,000 books, of which some 4,000 argue the case for Atlantis' authenticity.

Likewise, consider the medieval Christian prophet, Nostradamus. He was the most widely read seer of the Renaissance. In 1547 he produced a volume of End-time prophecies which has been continuously in print ever since up to the present day. That work stands second only to the Bible in the vast number of translations, commentaries, and analyses it

has generated over the centuries.

It is the same with a majority of the entries dealing with the future. Many future items reported here under Cosmic Era III as only a 2-line or 3-line miniscenario are in fact based each on a sizeable book or published article which develops the scenario in full.

In this compilation we list sources, in or after each entry, only in a handful of cases where we judge it especially important to do so. These include Genesis chapter 1 and other major biblical references, a small number of especially significant books, a few science fiction classics, and some of the major volumes that trace the development of the concept of evangelization.

A computerized database

The chronology has been developed on computer media for a variety of other uses in addition to this printed book version. Words, phrases, names, persons, subjects, themes can all be tracked, traced, and displayed instantly through global search options. Each entry is described by geographical, political, ecclesiastical, confessional, demographic, statistical, and other indicators so that one can examine reduced or specialized versions of the entries on any subject. All entries are also related to the main database dealing with the global status of Christianity in the context of 100 world religions, 9 continents, 254 countries, 3,100 large metropolises, 7,000 languages, 11,000 ethnolinguistic peoples, 18,000 Christian parachurch agencies, and 22,200 Christian denominations.

The uses of this material are thus limited only by the imagination and creativity of the user. From these data he can create statistical totals, statistical tables, statistical analyses of trends over time. He can generate multicolored graphics or maps. He can project them directly from a computer screen to a large wall screen at the moment he creates them. He can animate them. And the end product is: greater insight into the whole incredible story of world evangelization.

A macrothesaurus and macroindex

A printed index version is being developed for publication which will, among other things, list every single subject, name, place, and concept in a single alphabetical listing. Each would then be followed by all dates (years) in which it occurs in the chronology.

Conclusion

Such, then, is the drama of the Creation—the past, present, and future activity of God the Creator. This is the drama, too, of the ever-present threat of chaos. And this is the drama of the gospel, the good news that Jesus Christ is, in the final analysis, in control of the entire process. The kingdom of God has arrived, is arriving today, and will arrive tomorrow. And towards that goal we are invited to follow as disciples of Christ.

SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

This is a short selection from the vast range of books consulted during the compilation of this chronology. The selection gives the flavour of the subject. The listing of titles within each of the 3 Cosmic Eras follows approximately the unfolding of ages and subjects in the chronology itself.

A technical feature about this bibliography should be noted. It concerns our manner of presenting titles of books and articles. The usual practice in English bibliographies is to capitalize all nouns and adjectives in the titles of books and articles. This practice gives us no additional information but instead imparts a false significance to individual words in those titles. More serious, it hides the English language's valuable distinction between proper nouns (names, places, countries, organizations, campaigns) and those which are not proper nouns. Titles in English have in fact gradually moved in this direction over the last 200 years, abandoning a few capitalizations every decade. We therefore follow a different practice, and one that has growing support in the academic and publishing worlds.

Throughout our material in this book, it is essential to know whether a phrase like 'World Evangelism' is a proper noun (in this case, the title of the World Methodist Council's agency to evangelize the world) or whether it is simply a concept, in which case it should remain uncapitalized as 'world evangelism'. Hence our practice below, and in the chronology itself, is to capitalize only (1) the first word of each book title, (2) all proper nouns, and (3) adjectives and other words when part of an existing name. The only exceptions are books published before 1850, when titles were usually fully capitalized.

A similar practice is followed in the chronology for titles of conferences, themes, programs, and other activities. There, however, in a number of cases we leave a title's wording capitalized where that existing usage seems sufficiently significant.

A related practice is that, in bibliography and chronology, we use single quotation marks ('...') throughout for titles, articles, quotations, etc. This is because the normal practice of double quotes ("...") overloads the printed page when there are a very large number of quotations, as in the present book.

COSMIC ERA I: THE PREHISTORY OF WORLD EVANGELIZATION

(This section covers Creation, cosmology, prehistory of man, the rise of religion, and God's redemptive activity as recorded in the Old Testament).

- The moment of Creation: Big Bang physics from before the first millisecond to the present Universe.* J.S. Trefil. New York: Scribner's, 1983. 234 pages. (This book and the next describe the scientific evidence for the detailed scenario of the initial moments of Creation given on the first page of our chronology after the date BC 19 billion).
- In search of the Big Bang: quantum physics and cosmology.* J. Gribbin. New York: Bantam, 1986. 414 pages.
- God and Creation.* P.J. Flammang. Nashville, TN: Broadman, 1985. 167 pages. (A masterly and highly readable treatment of the Christian doctrine of God as Creator. Surveys the history and literature of the subject: biblical exegesis, philosophy, creationism, evolution, redemption, astronomy, current debates, et alia).
- The red limit: the search for the edge of the Universe.* T. Ferris. New York: Quill, 1983. 286 pages.
- The new astronomy.* N. Henbest & M. Marten. Cambridge, UK: University Press, 1983. 240 pages. (275 color pictures with vivid new imagery illustrating quasars and other cosmological themes).
- Cosmos.* Carl Sagan. New York: Random House, 1980. 365 pages. (A classic, based on a 13-part television series).
- The extraterrestrial encyclopedia: our search for life in outer space.* J.A. Angelo Jr. New York: Facts on File Publications, 1985. 254 pages.
- Entropy: a new world view.* J. Rifkin. New York: Viking, 1980; Bantam, 1981 (302 pages). (The place of entropy/disorder/chaos in ecology, economics, society as well as in physics).
- Black holes and warped space-time.* W.J. Kaufmann III. New York: W.H. Freeman, 1979. 221 pages.

Origins: what new discoveries reveal about the emergence of our species and its possible future. R. Leakey & R. Lewin. New York: Dutton, 1982.

Cosmos and history: the myth of the eternal return. Mircea Eliade. New York: Harper, 1954. 176 pages.

The encyclopedia of religion. Ed Mircea Eliade. New York: Macmillan, 1986. 16 volumes including index. (The most important 20th-century English-language reference work on religion from Paleolithic times to the present day).

The interpreter's Bible. Ed G.A. Buttrick. New York: Abingdon, 1951-57. 12 volumes. (KJV/AV and RSV text, exegesis, and exposition. First 6 volumes deal with the whole Old Testament revelation and its meaning).

COSMIC ERA II: WORLD EVANGELIZATION IN CHRISTIAN HISTORY

(This section covers the history and status of Christianity, mission and evangelism over the last 20 centuries.)

The evangelization of the Roman Empire: identity and adaptability. E.G. Hinson. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1981. 332 pages.

A history of the expansion of Christianity. K.S. Latourette. New York: Harper, 1937-45. 7 volumes.

The new international dictionary of the Christian Church. Ed J.D. Douglas. Exeter: Paternoster, 1974. 1,074 pages.

Encyclopedic dictionary of religion. Eds P.K. Meagher et al. Washington, DC: Corpus, 1979. 2 volumes. (Very detailed on Christian history, personages, martyrs, missions).

World Christian encyclopedia. Ed D.B. Barrett. Nairobi: Oxford, 1982. 1,010 pages.

Exploring evangelism: history, methods, theology. M. Taylor. Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill, 1964. 620 pages. (A comprehensive history of evangelism by a Church of the Nazarene theologian).

History of evangelism: 300 years of evangelism in Germany, Great Britain and the USA. P. Scharpff. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966. 373 pages. (Written from the standpoint of German Pietism).

The evangelization of the world in this generation. J.R. Mott. New York: SVMFM, 1900. 245 pages.

Evangelism for the world today. J.R. Mott. London: International Missionary Council, 1938. 295 pages. (World survey, with correspondence from 125 Christian leaders, for 1938 IMC Conference in Tambaram).

Operation World: a day-to-day guide to praying for the world. 4th edition. P. Johnstone. Bromley, Kent: STL, 1986. 501 pages.

COSMIC ERA III: THE FUTUROLOGY OF WORLD EVANGELIZATION

(This section covers secular futurism, secular methodology, classics of science fiction, biblical and extrabiblical prophecy, and the future of Christianity and religion. A fuller treatment of the latter subject will be found in the 3-page table 'Evolution of the futurology of Christianity and religion, 1893-1980', in *World Christian encyclopedia*, p. 854-6, which lists 280 distinct titles.)

The study of the future: an introduction to the art and science of understanding and shaping tomorrow's world. E. Cornish. Washington, DC: World Future Society, 1977. 308 pages. (The classic introduction to the subject; highly readable).

The future: a guide to information sources. 2nd edition. Washington, DC: World Future Society, 1979. 722 pages.

Arthur C. Clarke's July 20, 2019: life in the 21st century. A.C. Clarke. New York: Macmillan, 1986. 282 pages.

The encyclopedia of science fiction: an illustrated A to Z. Ed P. Nicholls. London: Granada, 1979. 672 pages.

Dimensions of science fiction. W.S. Bainbridge. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986. 278 pages.

The science in science fiction: does science fiction foretell the future? Ed P. Nicholls. London: Michael Joseph, 1982. 208 pages. (Lavishly illustrated discussion and explanation of a vast range of scientific subjects).

2010: Odyssey Two. A.C. Clarke. London: Granada, 1982. 297 pages. (This novel and the next 2 titles are probably the 3 most brilliant, convincing and suggestive recent examples of classic science fiction).

Contact: a novel. Carl Sagan. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985. 432 pages.

The songs of distant Earth. A.C. Clarke. New York: Ballantine, 1986. 257 pages.

The Third Millennium: a history of the world, AD 2000-3000. B. Stableford & D. Langford. New York: A. A. Knopf, 1985. 224 pages. (This convincing and well-illustrated book elaborates on a fair number of the entries in our chronology for the period AD 2000-3000).

The future of the Universe: a cosmological forecast of events through the year 10¹⁰⁰. D.A. Dicus et alii. *Scientific American*, 248, 3 (March, 1983), 90-101. (By 4 high-energy physicists/cosmologists).

Encyclopedia of Biblical prophecy: the complete guide to scriptural predictions and their fulfilment. J.B. Payne. Grand Rapids, MI: Baker, 1973. 754 pages. (Lists 8,352 predictive scripture verses (1,711 in the NT) containing 1,817 distinct biblical predictions (1,239 in OT, 578 in NT). Calculates 27% of all Bible verses are predictive; this is 21.5% of NT, 28.5% of OT).

Eschaton: future prophecies from Nostradamus' ancient writings. B. Pennington. Limpsfield, UK: Dragon's World, 1976. 91 pages. (Contains 60 full-color pages of apocalyptic imagery vividly illustrating the biblical End-time. The cover portrays the Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse surveying a devastated Europe).

The future of religion: secularization, revival and cult formation. R. Stark & W.S. Bainbridge. Berkeley, CA: University of California, 1985. 571 pages.

The future of global nuclearization: world religious perspectives. Ed T.R. McFaul. New York: Joint Strategy & Action Committee, 1985. 131 pages.

The Church at the end of the Twentieth Century. F.A. Schaeffer. London: Norfolk, 1970. 190 pages.

The future of the Christian world mission. Eds W.J. Danker & W.J. Kang. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1971. 181 pages.

The future of the Christian Church. A.M. Ramsey & L.-J. Suenens. London: SCM. 1971. 87 pages.

The shape of the church to come. Karl Rahner. London: SPCK, 1974. 136 pages.

The church of the future: a model for the year 2001. W. Buhlmann. Maryknoll, NY: Orbis. 1986. 207 pages. (Describes and discusses the churches of 6 continents and how they relate now and in the future).

COSMIC ERA I: THE PREHISTORY OF WORLD EVANGELIZATION

GOD'S ETERNAL PRE-EXISTENCE

Uncreated, eternal existence of Triune God. Theos, Logos, Pneuma

OSCILLATING UNIVERSE SCENARIO

Before creation of our Universe, several successive small cosmic explosions (Small Bangs) occur, each leading to a larger universe with short but progressively longer life: each short cycle so far has collapsed before life can evolve, and new bang occurs. (Landsberg-Park model of a universe bigger with each successive bounce).

GOD CREATES COSMOS OUT OF CHAOS

BC
19 billion

Zero of cosmic time: creation of Universe in primordial monobloc with explosion and universal fireball (the Big Bang theory), continuously evolving and expanding; physically 9-dimensional (according to superstring theory) although only 3 dimensions develop significantly. (Genesis 1:1).

GOD CREATES ENERGY, MATTER, ANTIMATTER, ATOMS, PARTICLES

Universe passes rapidly through 7 eras or stages (freezings of matter or force) after Big Bang: (1) before 10^{-43} seconds (= Planck time), supersymmetry era; (2) before 10^{-35} seconds (temperature 10^{29} degrees K), GUT era (grand unified theory); (3) 10^{-35} to 10^{-10} seconds (at which temperature is 10 quadrillion degrees), electroweak era (freezing of electrical and weak forces), with sudden rapid 'chaotic inflation' or exponential expansion of Universe (then packed entirely within one Planck length of 10^{-33} cm) by up to $10^{1,000,000}$ times in less than 10^{-30} seconds, producing order (cosmos) out of primordial chaos; (4) 10^{-10} to 10^{-3} seconds, quark era (first form of matter); (5) 1 millisecond to 3 minutes, particle era (formation of hundreds of types of particles from sea of hot quarks); (6) 3 minutes (at temperature of 1 billion degrees) to 500,000 years, nucleogenesis (plasma and nuclei) era; and finally (7) at 500,000 years, hot expanding plasma freezes into hydrogen atoms, with massive release of microwave radiation as present (atomic) era begins. (Genesis 1:3).

After first millisecond from Big Bang, total darkness prevails throughout Universe for next 2 billion years before light bursts forth. (Genesis 1:2).

Universe has been radiation-dominated for its first thousand years (First Level of Evolution: energy), now becomes matter-dominated (Second Level of Evolution: matter), with total of 10^{80} elementary particles (protons, neutrons, electrons) in observable Universe. By a million years after Big Bang, enormous clouds of hydrogen (75% of Universe) and helium (25%) form, later condensing into protogalaxies and then into giant protostars.

GOD CREATES LIGHT, QUASARS, GALAXIES, STARS—AND DARK MATTER

- 17 billion Creation of light with eruption of a billion blazing quasars (stupendously exploding or colliding protogalaxies with massive central black holes, emitting huge quantities of light, radio waves, X-rays and gamma rays) which then evolve over next 17 billion years into galaxies of which 2% have violent nucleuses. (Genesis 1:3).
- 16 billion Formation of first galaxies, eventually producing over 100 billion galaxies, all receding from each other, each containing from 1 million to 1,000 billion stars (grand total 10^{22} stars, shining because of nuclear fusion) and each with a huge black hole at its center; by 20th century AD, 99% of Universe consists of holes (spherical voids hundreds of millions of light-years across and empty of galaxies), with vast metagalaxies and superclusters of galaxies (longest being 1 billion light-years long) around their edges; widespread galactic violence, collisions, explosions and chaos. Luminous matter thus created amounts to 20% of Universe's total mass; 80% continues as cold dark matter (invisible, nonluminous) consisting of either neutrinos, axions, photinos, or cosmic strings.
- 15 billion Emergence of our Galaxy (Milky Way), 70,000 light-years in diameter, situated within our Local Group or cluster of 21 galaxies (12 being ellipticals, rest spiral or irregular). (Genesis 1:3).
- 14 billion Imminent globular clusters of stars arise across Universe.
- 9.5 billion First massive stars in our Galaxy emerge as globular clusters eventually totaling 400 billion stars or solar masses (15% being white dwarfs and 1% red giants), 70% of which are binary pairs, and 10% of which later develop planets capable of supporting life. BC

- 7.5 billion 7.7 billion, highly-evolved stars emerge. (Genesis 1:16). Origin of all heavy elements as first-generation giant stars explode as supernovas, supplying raw materials of planetary systems and also cosmic rays which power all evolutionary processes.

GOD CREATES SOLAR SYSTEM, PLANETS AND EARTH

- 5.0 billion After nearby supernova explosion within Galaxy, our Sun (a 3rd-generation star) and our Solar System are created with planets and asteroids; Sun rotates once round galactic center, 23,000 light-years away, every 250 million years. (Genesis 1:14-19).
- 4.7 billion Formation of Earth (and Moon) by condensation of hot gases, cold interstellar dust and rocks; in geological time, known as Pre-Cambrian Era up to BC 570 million, with 3 Periods: Azoic (Non-Life), Archeozoic (Primitive Life), Proterozoic (Early Life); BC 4.4 billion, Earth's oceans appear. (Genesis 1:10).
- 3.6 billion After 1.1 billion years of high-frequency bombardment of Earth by planetesimals from 2 to 20 miles diameter, frequency falls sharply to present level of one impact by extrasolar or galactic planetesimal of 3 miles diameter every 14 million years, and/or one of 10 miles diameter every 100 million years, these approximately mark ends of subsequent geological periods.

GOD CREATES LIFE ON EARTH

- 3.5 billion Life arises on Earth: first living organisms are free-living virioids, small, simple cells related to algae or bacteria, producing oxygen through photosynthesis (the major energy source for all life subsequently); remaining unchanged for 2.9 billion years; atmosphere largely carbon dioxide, methane and ammonia. (Third Level of Evolution: life). Interstellar origin of life hypothesis: virtual uniformity of genetic code in all known forms of life is explained by either (a) Earth seeded with spores despatched in interstellar rocket from earlier civilization, or (b) Earth continuously bombarded with cosmic genes directed by a higher intelligence. (Biologist F. Crick, astronomer F. Hoyle, 1985).
- 3.4 billion Oldest known fossil traces of living matter: microfossils of blue-green algae (now with 25,000 species) and bacteria; BC 2 billion, oldest fossils of single-cell myxobacteria (active social microorganisms, working as communities of microbes).
- 3.0 billion First multicellular organisms evolve.
- 2.0 billion Multicelled plants appear and flourish in seas on Earth; development of sexual reproduction by simple cells together with scheduled or programmed death as essential for improving life by evolution. (Genesis 1:11).
- 1.0 billion Proterozoic Period, sponges appear (5,000 species).
- 800 million Free oxygen accumulates on Earth as algae metabolize carbon dioxide.

Cambrian explosion of lifeforms

- 600 million Sudden, enormous proliferation in oceans of new multicelled organisms and great numbers of forms of life. Vision with primitive eye-spots develops into image-forming eyes independently in marine worms, mollusks, and vertebrates; first arthropods appear (trilobites, equipped with a pair of compound eyes), hunting in packs on ocean floor. First of 14 sudden mass extinctions of life on Earth (Great Dying), occurring every 26 million years, selectively destroying species: others in 500 million (trilobites), 248m (marine), 243m, 225m, 215m (placodonts), 194m (clams), 175m, 163m, 144m (ammonites), 115m, 91m (sea urchins), 65m (dinosaurs), 38m (protozoa), 11m (mollusks); cause seen as bombardments of Earth by comets in Oort cloud of 100 billion comets surrounding Solar System as Sun's dim companion star Nemesis approaches every 26 million years.
- 570 million Lower Paleozoic Era, up to BC 395 million, with 3 Periods: Cambrian, Ordovician, Silurian; first invertebrates; marine animals with hard parts (shells, earapaces) appear, making possible their survival as fossils. Infra-Cambrian ice age, followed in BC 280 million by Permian-Carboniferous ice age, then BC 3 million by Pleistocene ice age, 275-million-year periodicity due to Solar System entering massive belt of galactic dust.
- 500 million Cambrian disasters: sudden mass extinction of many species of segmented creatures (trilobites) which have dominated seas.
- 450 million Age of Fishes (first of the 5 vertebrates); jawless fish appear, also

COSMIC ERA II: WORLD EVANGELIZATION IN CHRISTIAN HISTORY

FIRST ADVENT OF JESUS CHRIST THE SON OF GOD: TWO AGES OVERLAP

BC

- 4 Birth of Jesus of Nazareth, one infant among 6,600,000 born on Earth that year, the Incarnation of the Word of God
Death of Herod produces violent unrest; Roman legate of Syria has 2,000 Jews crucified.

AD

- 1 Beginning of Christian Era according to Dionysius (AD 525).
6 Removal of Archelaus, son of Herod: Judea and Samaria placed under direct imperial rule.
Uprising under self-proclaimed Jewish messiah, Judas the Galilean, opposing first Roman provincial census of AD 6. Judas killed, 2,000 followers crucified.
9 Varian disaster in Germany: 3 Roman legions under P. Quinctilius Varus strategically ambushed by German Cherusci north of Rhine and annihilated.
14 Imperial Roman census under emperor Tiberius (BC 42-AD 37).
c 20 Essene ascetics (Jewish Zealots) of Qumran (Dead Sea, from BC 153-AD 73) write *Rule of the War of the Sons of Light and the Sons of Darkness*, showing considerable awareness of Roman military tactics; suicidal revolt of Zealots against Rome in AD 66, savagely suppressed by Titus in AD 68.
23 Total number of Roman imperial troops: 330,000 in 25 legions, rising gradually to 350,000 by AD 70; annual pay of legionary soldier 225 denarii per year.
25 Chinese emperor Kuang Wu Ti founds Eastern Han dynasty, conquers Viet Nam, dies in 57; Buddhism introduced into China.
27 Roman empire (33 million, 50% slaves) has 2.3 million Jews (7% of population) a large proportion being proselytes; in Palestine, 580,000 Jews and 220,000 Gentiles; average life-span then 23 years.
30 Baptism of Jesus by John the Baptist, beginning of public ministry of Jesus of Nazareth.
31 Jesus proclaims nearness and imminence of the rule of God: 'The Kingdom of God is at hand' (Mark 1:15).
Jesus chooses Twelve Apostles including 4 of his first cousins and 2 zealots (Patriots or Essenes), gives them power and authority, commissions them to go initially only to Israelites (Matthew 10:1-6); later commissions Mission of the 70 disciples to evangelize the 70 Gentile nations (Luke 10:1).
32 Jesus envisages lightning spread of the gospel to all nations within one single generation: 'This Good News of the Kingdom will be proclaimed to the whole oikumene as a witness to all nations. And then the end will come' (Matthew 24:14, Jerusalem Bible, Oikumene = Graeco-Roman inhabited world); 'the end' partly fulfilled in Fall of Jerusalem in AD 70.
33 Crucifixion of Jesus (Friday 3 April), followed by resurrection (Sunday 5 April) and ascension 40 days later; final stage in beginning of God's New Creation in Christ.

THE GREAT COMMISSION: 'GO THROUGHOUT THE COSMOS'

Appearances of Jesus over 40-day period: the Gospels record 50 commands (25 universal) of the Risen Christ, culminating in Great Commission. Jesus reveals himself to over 500 disciples on one occasion in Galilee (1 Corinthians 15:6).

Jesus' Great Commission as spiritual counterpart of Genesis 1:28 with 2 components of evangelizing and discipling: 'Go forth to every part of the world (in Greek, *Cosmos*), and proclaim the Good News to the whole creation' (Mark 16:15, NEB); 'Go to all peoples everywhere and make them my disciples' (Matthew 28:19, GNB); Jesus' presence from now on is the ever-present Shekinah glory.

Jesus gives Great Commission in a number of different forms at different times during the 40 days to different groups, including individuals, emphasizing the 7 mandates: Receive! Go! Witness! Proclaim! Disciple! Baptize! Train!

Total human population of genus Homo born since origin in BC 5,500,000 (220,000 generations ago): 117,841 million persons. Total Homo Sapiens population born since origin in BC 500,000 (20,000 generations ago): 34,241 million persons. Total Homo Sapiens Sapiens population born since origin in BC 45,000 (1,800 generations ago): 12,791 million persons. Total People of God (Old Israel) since Abraham's call in BC 1950 (179 generations ago): 52.5 million persons.

Overlapping of 2 Ages or Epochs or Cosmic Eras now under way as the Church Age (1) The Present Age or Old Age (Kingdom or Rule of Satan, a pseudo-New Age terminating at Second Advent), and (2) the Next Age or New Age or New Creation or Messianic End-Time (Kingdom or Rule of God, beginning at Jesus' resurrection and continuing after Second Advent).

Epoch 1: CHRISTIANITY WINS THE ROMAN EMPIRE AD 33-500

AD 33-80 The Apostolic Age

- 33 Global status: during 40 days' Appearances of the Risen Christ, total of Jesus' disciples = about 4,000, total evangelized by Jesus as result of last 3 years' ministry = whole of Palestine (800,000).
Day of Pentecost in Jerusalem: 3,000 converted among Diaspora Jews and Gentiles from 'every nation under heaven', from North Africa to Persia *Palestine*. First Christians, in Jerusalem. Twelve Apostles become founder members of the Church, not primarily missionaries, evangelists, bishops or local pastors.
Israel. First Christians (from Jerusalem on Day of Pentecost) return to homes across Judea.
Egypt, Lebanon (then Phoenicia), *Jordan* (Transjordan), *Libya, Syria*. First Christians (returning from Jerusalem after Day of Pentecost).
Italy: First Christians (returned from Jerusalem after Day of Pentecost). Large-scale people movement of families and villages into the church: 'More than ever believers were added to the Lord, multitudes both of men and of women' (Acts 5:14).
34 Apostles (the Twelve plus others) begin evangelizing widely; several remain in Jerusalem for a decade or two, several travel outside, but most evangelize only Jews until AD 38 (Peter), 43 (Paul), and after AD 50 (others).
35 Twelve Apostles, declining gradually in influence, appoint 7 deacons to administer relief for Hellenistic Christian community, while they concentrate on evangelism: 'The number of disciples multiplied greatly in Jerusalem, and a great many of the priests were obedient to the faith' (Acts 6:1-7).
c 35 Proliferation of 'signs and wonders' among early believers (listed 9 times in Acts); miracles and healings at this time an everyday occurrence and an essential part of proclamation of the gospel: 'power evangelism' thus one of the normal kinds of evangelism in the Early Church.
Turkey (then called Asia Minor). First Christians (in Antioch, returned from Jerusalem after Day of Pentecost).
Armenia (now USSR). First Christians (returned from Jerusalem after Day of Pentecost): c65, traditionally evangelized by Thaddeus and Bartholomew.
36 Martyrdom of Stephen the protomartyr; Jewish persecution of Early Church, especially of Hellenistic Christians; believers scattered throughout Judea and Samaria.
Dismissal of Pontius Pilate (Roman Samnite knight, procurator of Judea since AD 26); recalled to Rome, kills himself AD 39 on orders from emperor Caligula.
Sudan. First Christians: gospel taken to Nubia (Meroe) by Ethiopian eunuch baptized by Philip the Evangelist.
Mission extended to Samaritans by Philip; fresh persecution.
Conversion of Saul of Tarsus (age 24), a Roman citizen; departs to Arabia, then in 40 to Jerusalem and Tarsus; later renamed Paul.
37 Church throughout Judea, Galilee and Samaria multiplied (Acts 9:31).
38 After 5-year period of hesitation and partial obedience to Christ's Great Commission, first Gentiles are deliberately evangelized by the Twelve Apostles.
Commission to evangelize pagan Gentiles as Gentiles first forced on consciousness of Jewish church, through baptism by Peter of Cornelius, a God-fearer but not a Jewish proselyte (Acts 10:1-48).
c 38 Large influx of Italians (Cohors II Italica Civium Romanorum) converted through ministry of apostle Peter at Caesarea (Acts 10:48).
Twelve Apostles, after 5 years' hesitation, scatter across globe spreading the gospel, from Ethiopia (Matthew), to Armenia (Bartholomew) to India (Thomas), all martyred over subsequent 60 years.
c 39 Antioch (population 130,000): wider mission to Gentiles inaugurated.
Ethiopia. First Christians (returning pilgrims from Jerusalem present on Day of Pentecost): c80, Christianity known and openly practiced by merchants from Roman empire settled in Axum, Adulis and region.
c 40 *Greece*. First Judeo-Christians.
Holy See (at that time, Rome). First Christians in capital of Roman empire.
Mandylion of Edessa: king Abgar V of Edessa (BC 4-AD 50) obtains alleged portrait of Jesus (Ikon of Christ), seized by Muslims in AD 944, surfaces in Lirey (France) in 1389, then regularly seen thereafter; now known as Holy Shroud of Turin.
41 Roman emperor Caligula (AD 12-41) attempts to set up statue of himself in Jewish Temple in Jerusalem, first to be regarded by Christians as the Antichrist, murdered soon after.
42 Mark the Evangelist (c10-68) works in Egypt; 61, arrives in Alexandria, organizes Coptic church.

COSMIC ERA III: THE FUTUROLOGY OF WORLD EVANGELIZATION

An eschato-scientific scenario

This chronology divides its presentation of possible, probable and preferable future events into 2 distinct sections: (a) the elements of the Christian eschatological scheme as contained in the biblical materials.

and (b) a religio-scientific composite scenario of alternative futures, derived from secular, religious, ecclesiastical and other non-biblical sources.

(a) The Christian Eschatological Schema of the Biblical End-Time

Notes.

1. In keeping with Christian tradition, no exact dates can be given for events in this short 4-page sequence here in section (a). No detailed apocalyptic timetable is possible. However, the scenario as a whole, which is a composite made up of numerous convergent and divergent alternative miniscenarios, may be compared with the dated sequence from 1988 onwards in section (b) entitled 'A Religio-Scientific Composite Scenario of Alternative Futures'.
2. The sequence contains (1) biblical material (followed by abbreviated scriptural references), plus (2) additional theological and other interpretative material that reasonably can be or has been attached to the biblical data by way of explanation and elaboration. Related scriptural references are given so that the reader may study them himself to see if particular scenarios best represent likely or probable or accurate exegesis. These scenarios embody the varying eschatological interpretations proffered by scholars throughout Christian history: chiliasm (millennialism), amillennialism, nonmillennialism, postmillennialism, historic (post-tribulation) premillennialism, dispensational (pretribulation) premillennialism, realized millennialism, inaugurated imminency, other varieties of tribulationism, and so on.
3. The End-time portrayed below can be interpreted as being either (a) allegorical, or spiritual, or symbolic, or (b) literal, or a mixture of all of these. It can be seen as either (1) a series of apocalyptic vignettes or spiritual lessons in no particular order in time, or (2) a series of events in approximately chronological order. To the extent that this whole sequence is, or was, or is intended to be, a literal chronological sequence,

the whole of this biblical End-time scenario, from its start (after Signs of the Times) to the onset of the Millennium, is usually regarded as occupying only a short 5-year, 7-year or 10-year period. Throughout Christian history, as described in the preceding pages of Cosmic Era II, Christian thinkers and ecclesiastics have imagined it as about to happen in their own immediate or near-term or middle-range future from one to 20 years ahead.

4. For purposes of understanding, interpretation and speculation, therefore, we can imagine this climactic period being placed at various concrete future points in our chronological scenario of the future, e.g. at AD 1990, or 2000, or 2050, or 2300, or 10,000, or 100,000, or 1 million, etc. We thus proffer below 2 alternative scenarios, combined for convenience into a single sequence. (1) Our Total Discontinuity scenario (nuclear holocausts or natural cataclysmic ends of the world) then envisages Christ returning in the aftermath of world annihilation and creating an entirely new world de novo. (2) More plausible is our Partial Continuity scenario which envisages Christ returning at one particular future date (unknown to us at present, of course), intervening in time to avert possible or even inevitable or imminent global disaster, and then taking control over the world in all its future aspects as shown below, thereby inaugurating a period we can recognize as the biblical Millennium, and controlling and guiding in person all the world's developments and potentialities as detailed below in section (b) 'A Religio-Scientific Composite Scenario of Alternative Futures', especially in the realms of science, technology, space, society, politics, government, human evolution et alia.

Epoch Omega

THE BIBLICAL END-TIME: A COMPOSITE SCENARIO

The Signs of the Times

- Signs and portents arise in profusion, all being evangelistic, hortatory, warnings to rebellious mankind: Bible contains at least 22 major signs signalling the End-time, including international (wars), cultural (interest in occult), natural (famines, drought), mysterious (UFOs, etc), satanic (devil worship), et alia. (Mt 16:3, Mt 24:4).
- Increasing global population mobility, global strife, disintegrating social order, vast increases in knowledge in all subjects. (Dan 12:4).
- Jerusalem the Holy City trampled by Gentiles (Times of the Gentiles, under hostile Gentile powers from BC 586 and AD 135 up to state of Israel (1948) and future Advent). (Lk 21:24).
- Wars and rumours of wars (cold wars), famines, earthquakes, epidemics, terrible sufferings, celestial portents. (Mt 24:6-7, Lk 21:9-11).
- Beginning of the 2 great End-time revivals: (1) of good, (2) of evil. (Joel 2:28-29).
- Revivals and rapid church growth with mass acceptance of gospel in some parts of the world, with mass rejection of gospel in others: millions converted in last great global spiritual revival; worldwide signs and wonders accompany proclamation of the gospel in every land.
- Spread of false gospels increases, with rise of false prophets, false christs, false messiahs, and antichrists. (Mt 24:5, 11, 14, 1 Tim 4:1, 2 Pet 2:1, 1 John 1:18).
- End-time apostasy within Christendom (represented by the 7 churches of the Apocalypse, Rev 1-3): abandonment of biblical Christianity by millions of nominal church members, polarization of global Christianity into the affluent middle-class Western-world Church of the Rich ('the Laodicean Church'), the Church of the Poor (Africa, Latin America), and the Church of the Absolutely Poor (South and Central Asia) ('the Smyrna Philadelphia Church'). (Mt 24:10-12, 2 Thess 2:3, Rev 2:9, 3:17).
- Failure of the church to evangelize the world, part remaining still unevangelized until the Tribulation. (Mt 10:23b).
- Rise of a charismatic leader within 10-nation confederacy (European Economic Community, or a Mediterranean Confederacy, as revived Roman Empire), who seizes power and sets up a ruthless, totalitarian world government, who further is (a) a political genius with vast organizational and leadership abilities who creates a world socialist order, and a psychic genius who creates a new universal world religion (based on occult Hinduism), mastery of secret cosmic forces, tremen-

dous hypnotic powers; frightening display of psychic force, attempt to convert the whole world forcibly to occultism; later, ruler is revealed to be the final Antichrist, the Ultimate Antichrist, the Universal Monarch. (2 Thess 2:3-4).

THE SECRET PRETRIBULATION RAPTURE SCENARIO

First or Secret Coming of Christ on the clouds of heaven (the private or invisible Coming 'for' his Saints) in his imperishable immortal resurrection body, imminent, sudden, unexpected, without prior signs or warnings, 'as a thief in the night'; announced with trumpet to the church but not publicly to the world. (1 Thess 4:16, 1 Cor 15:52).

First stage of calling out of the Elect (the Body of Christ): Translation of the Saints: imminent, sudden, secret Rapture of the Church, or part of it (only those prepared, worthy and expectant; or only the Confessing Church of prophets, apostles, martyrs, confessors and witnesses; or, 'God's preferential option for the poor', i.e. only the downtrodden, the persecuted, the deprived, the oppressed, the marginalized, the Church of the Poor, or the Church of the Absolutely Poor as the most faithful or most deserving Remnant), with the dead in Christ preceding them (the Church of the Martyrs, in the Qui-Resurrection). Age of Grace with offer of salvation still open however until end of Great Tribulation. (1 Thess 4:16-17).

The Rapture, with sudden disappearance of millions of Christians, is interpreted by hostile antichristian New Age Movement leaders as a mighty evolutionary quantum leap to a higher consciousness, the Cosmic Mind ejecting laggards of the species as a body rejects unwanted cells. (2 Pet 3:4).

On other scenarios, no secret coming or rapture takes place, but entire church moves forward as the suffering Body of Christ as it passes into and through the Great Tribulation.

Inauguration of New Age order and religion

Global inauguration of this-worldly New Age (the New Genesis), a pseudo-New Age biblically termed 'The Great Delusion', or 'The Lie', or the 'wicked deception', a 'false gospel', being widespread irresistible religious disinformation and deception as a 'Sign of the Times': long period of unprecedented peace, prosperity and plenty, shaming and global euphoria on Earth, as satanic counterfeit and parody of promised Millennium: Western wealth redistributed among poorest countries, miracles, signs and wonders performed; millions of New-Agers agree to cooperate

Death and Hades with their followers are cast into Lake of Fire: 'This is the Second Death' (Rev 20:14).
 End of space-time continuum, specifically, end of 7 evils: death, mourning (sorrow), weeping (tears), pain, curse, night, and the sea (the unregenerate world of evil). (Rev 20:15, 21, 22).

CONSUMMATION OF THE NEW CREATION: GOD CREATES NEW HEAVENS AND A NEW EARTH

Final fulfillment and completion of God's promise 'Behold, I create new heavens and a new earth' (Isaiah 65:17, RSV)
 Beginning of the genuine New Age, the eternal state, the everlasting

Kingdom of God, the Paradise of God, the New Eden, the New Jerusalem (1,500 miles cubed, an eternal Holy of Holies), 12 gates never closed (free access to God), River of Life and Tree of Life (knowledge of how creation works, with fruit conferring immortality), a place of light, glory, splendor, truth, universality, salvation, security, worship, work, service, responsibility, abundance, health, joy, enjoyment, the vision of Christ as Alpha and Omega; 12 zodiacal signs of the Old Age permanently reversed (Rev 21:19-20); a renovated Universe, a renewed Galaxy, a transformed Earth, built on Earth's different peoples (races), Israel and the church, and 'the unsearchable riches of Christ', (Eph 2:7, Rev 2:7; 21-22).

(b) A Religio-Scientific Composite Scenario of Alternative Futures

Notes.

1. To assist us comprehend the study of the future, it is helpful to recognize 10 basic periods of the future, as follows. Of these, everybody is interested in periods (1) and (2); most futurists study periods (3) and (4), futurists involved in medicine and the sciences often make forecasts in periods (4) and (5); ecologists study periods (3) to (6); and astronomers and cosmologists specialize in periods (7) to (10).

- (1) The immediate future (up to 1 year from now).
- (2) The near-term future (1-5 years from now).
- (3) The middle-range future (5-20 years from now).
- (4) The long-range future (20-100 years from now, i.e. up to AD 2100).
- (5) The distant future (100-1,000 years from now, i.e. AD 2100-3000).
- (6) The far distant future (over 1,000 years hence, i.e. after AD 3000).
- (7) The megafuture (after AD 1 million, up to end of Solar System).
- (8) The gigafuture (after AD 1 billion, up to death of stars).
- (9) The terafuture (after AD 1 trillion, up to supermassive black hole).
- (10) The eschatofuture or exafuture (after AD 1 quintillion or 10¹⁸ years, up to end at 10¹⁰⁰ years).

This schema is not superimposed in toto on the future chronology below, but the reader can do so if he finds it helpful.

2. The following single continuous chronology is not intended to in any sense imply prediction, prophecy or predestination, nor should it be con-

sidered as presenting only one single coherent and consistent scenario.

It combines numerous overlapping scenarios and miniscenarios and single scientifically-predicted or forecasted events with the entire range of possible and probable events envisaged by technological-social optimism, limits-to-growth secular pessimism, and extrabiblical Protestant and Catholic prophecy. In consequence, particular items or scenarios will often be inconsistent or even appear to be contradictory. The sequence should therefore be regarded as simply what it is: a set of possible or probable or preferable alternative futures, not necessarily connected or consistent.

3. A large number of Christian events, particularly international conferences, have already been arranged and announced for the period 1988-2000. They are here included together with places and themes and other details as planned and anticipated in 1987.
4. The years shown at the left margin are simply those forecasted or suggested by specialists in the particular items enumerated. They should be regarded not as exact predictions but as approximate milestones, probabilistic forecasts, or only conditional forecasts, claiming accuracy perhaps to 20% of the time distance from the year 1988 (thus the year '2088' below would mean somewhere between 2068-2108).
5. A large proportion of these items are secular events or situations. They are included here because all have ethical, theological and missiological significance, hence are given so that the reader can himself consider and assess their implications for global mission and world evangelization.
6. None of the individual items below should be taken as necessarily the personal opinions or position of the author, who is here simply bringing together significant items from the vast extant literature on futurology, forecasting and alternative scenarios—possible, probable or preferable.

The Information Civilization: Fourth Industrial Revolution

1988 After 1st Industrial Revolution (1775), 2nd (1901), and 3rd (1950, nuclear power, microchips, genes), 4th revolution from 1988 on is neurological, knowledge-based, information-based: with people-supervised cybernated machines based on inexhaustible resources in space.
 Knowledge explosion: the stock of human knowledge increases phenomenally each year: contents of Library of Congress (world's largest), and other major libraries, available to all via personal computers.
 Five dominant technologies drive progress for next 40 years: computers, automation, space colonies, energy, communications.
 First USA 5th-generation ultracomputers: supercomputers using multiprocessing (hundreds of microprocessors linked together).
 Supercomputers increasingly used for international sabotage via software bombs (programmed booby traps).
 Robotics revolution, with large numbers of industrial robots, begins to dramatically alter economy of Japan and then of Western world, 20% of all industrial mass production now carried out by robots.
 Critical 100-year phase in human existence is now recognized to be the century 1950-2050: nuclear annihilation of all life on Earth possible and therefore of entire human race, until humans begin to spread out into space colonies.
 New Transcendentalism: new interest in meditation and other New Age self-exploratory techniques: growing global drug addiction.
 USA, new uniting denomination, Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, formally inaugurated by 3 bodies with 5.3 million members: American Lutheran Church, Lutheran Church in America, Association of Evangelical Lutheran Churches (1 January).
 Explosive growth of charismatic, evangelical and fundamentalist 'video churches', video denominations and video mission agencies; vast rash of house-church networks begins to spread in all countries with large denominations.
 International Theological Consultation on Religious Conversion (sponsored by LCWE and WEF), in Hong Kong (4-8 January).
 2nd All India Congress on Missions and Evangelism (AICOME '88), sponsored by indigenous-mission body India Missions Association, IMA (successor to AICOME in 1977), in Pune, India, 350 participants

(4-8 January).
 1st World Meeting, Global Network of Centers for World Mission, in Singapore (May).
 USSR places permanent space stations in orbit for military purposes. First success in repairing a human genetic defect.
 Third-World nations led by Mexico repudiate \$1,000 billion debts to Western banks: West and USSR retaliate. Latin American economy collapses, starvation sweeps Africa and Asia; huge Third-World terrorist operation smashes Western electronic economy, stock market crashes, world community disintegrates in chaos. (W. Clark's 1984 scenario *Cataclysm, the North-South conflict of 1987*).
 Specialized space telescopes put in orbit: SIRTIF (Spacelab Infrared Telescope Facility), COBE (Cosmic Background Explorer), GRO (Gamma Ray Observatory).
 NASA's Hubble Space Telescope launched by Space Shuttle in 320-mile-high orbit: 14-foot diameter, 12 tons: 10 times better viewing than on Earth, sees as far as 14 billion light-years, enables unprecedented census of the Universe planned by AD 2010, solves mystery of quasars (galaxies forming or dying which each emits more light than 100 billion stars, and many with superluminal parts moving demonstrably faster than light).
 Hipparcos (High Precision Parallax Correcting Satellite) launched by European Space Agency, results in most accurate star map in history.
 Computers widely used in automatic document translation and multilingual instantaneous interpreting.
 Automatic computer self-programming using plain ordinary language replaces 30% of all human programming of computers.
 World's fastest supercomputer introduced: Cray-3, with 16 main processors working in parallel, 8-billion-byte memory.
 Technological disasters proliferate: nuclear mishaps, chemical spills, virus escapes, major air and shipping accidents, structural failures, industrial sabotage, unstoppable pest attacks on crops and animals or people.
 Estimated date for Prayalog, Hindu end of the world, at end of present Kali Yuga of decay, degeneration and guilt (Kali Age or Dark Ages, for last 5,000 years since Flood over whole Earth), final act of Lord Brahma's wrath, whole world disintegrates in chaos in natural disasters (according to 'Bhagwa' in *Mahabharata*), new life arises after Brahma completes 100,000 years of meditation.

Extinction scenario: nuclear war results in 6 billion deaths (6,000 megadeaths), end of civilization, destruction of the North, destruction of all global infrastructures, destruction of knowledge and know-how, mankind reduced to handful of demoralized tribal savages; eventually, final extinction of all human and animal life.

Divine intervention scenario: Christ appears and intervenes at last minute to save mankind from certain imminent self-destruction by nuclear holocaust; role as Savior now universally understood and acknowledged, evil held firmly in check as Millennium begins.

Goal redefinition scenario: all 200 major Christian denominations and parachurch agencies which have previously, over last 30 years, announced separate grandiose goals for reaching the entire world for Christ by AD 2000, suddenly realize that there is too little time left to do so; 'redefinition of the task' is therefore publicly announced, postponing target date by a further 20 years or changing 'By AD 2000' to 'Within this generation'.

Total-information technologies and world evangelization

- 1997 Media revolution ushers in new era in total evangelization: instant communication, total knowledge, total teaching on any subject at any time, universal, continuous, non-stop, round-the-clock preaching and witnessing; global witness in all languages; full evangelization achieved in nearly all situations whether local, national, regional, continental or global. Popular religion (popular religiosity, popular piety), a christianized phenomenon, sweeps civilized regions of world in vast, rank growth effecting over 400 million church members.
- Direct communication with computers by speech achieved by humans; talk writers (transcribing speech) replace human transcribers.
- USA and USSR engage in unpublicized robotic war in space as both try to establish networks of laser-armed anti-ballistic-missile satellites.
- Sudden global power failure and total breakdown of sociosphere as domino effect destroys global infrastructures.
- Invention of programmable sound silencer to eliminate noise far better than brick or stone.
- Artificial wombs widely available for women unable to bear children naturally.
- Genetic transcription provides first genetic map of healthy human cells, opens up new science of genetic markers (diagnosing at birth all of a person's future illnesses in order to prevent them).
- Manned expedition to Mars launched by NASA (20 years after first landing of unmanned robot probe Viking).
- Unified field theory finally constructed by physicists, a mathematical model tying together the 5 basic forces holding the Universe's particles together: gravity, electromagnetism, weak nuclear force, strong nuclear force, hypercharge.
- Synthetic blood in wide use.
- World Convocation of Christianity convened on initiative of Vatican.
- Proliferation of local organic church unions begins around world, as hostile governments order or force all churches in their countries, of totally different confessions, to unite under one single name in order to exercise total control over them.
- 1998 Plans for organized world evangelization (as the church's responsibility) run into major obstacles: internal management fiascos, shortages of resources, shortfalls in personnel, secular urbanization, confessional disagreements, ecclesiastical schisms and secessions, theological disarray, mushrooming secularism and materialism, proselytism, ecclesiastical gangsterism and corruption, terrorism, insoluble complexities produced by world's 7,000 languages, disinformation, mass religious espionage, antichristian infiltration, unexpected prophets and seers, breakdowns in health care, failures of communications, collapse of education, global religious persecution, natural disasters, famines, popular hostility to Christianity, total state opposition, uncontrolled wars and warfare, collapses of infrastructures, universal chaos and terror.
- Proselytism (sheep-stealing from other churches) becomes widespread, though denounced in theory by all major church bodies.
- Worldwide disintegration of ecclesiastical coherence and centralized control.
- All overt evangelistic activity prohibited or suppressed in over 50 countries.
- Schisms out of major Western churches proliferate, numbering 20% of all church members since 1970.
- World's greatest denominations finally self-destruct over insoluble internal controversies: RCC, CoE, EKD, UMC, SBC, et alia.
- Churches forced underground in many countries, into clandestine or illegal existence.
- Global collapse of organized faith in Christ.
- Planetran world transportation network transports millions daily in electromagnetically-propelled cars travelling at 14,000 mph through evacuated tubes in underground tunnels.
- Collapse of most major currencies, with runaway global inflation.
- Soviet Union tests propulsion drive for speed-of-light starship; pilot ship said to be being readied to set out for Proxima Centauri star system.
- Most large enterprises managed largely by artificial intelligence.
- Majority of countries enforce strict population control, including contraceptive injections and forced abortions.

Automatic language translation for telephone users, enabling speakers worldwide to converse each in his own language.

Nuclear reactor disaster in Western capital city; millions killed, huge area contaminated; headquarters of major church and mission organizations there permanently abandoned.

United Religions Organization (URO) bought into being to parallel United Nations, to provide visions and moral power for world faiths; based in Jerusalem.

Mind-reading computers invented, with direct telepathic reading of thoughts in the brain; telepathic machines pick up human thoughts, place them on screen in front of the thinker.

TECHNOLOGICO-SOCIAL UTOPIA SCENARIO

- 1999 Global energy crisis finally solved as SPS (Solar Power Satellite) comes online; by 2021 becomes world's major energy source.
- Earth unexpectedly enters dense belt of cosmic dust; temperatures fall catastrophically, new ice age begins.
- 90% of all governments in world have now become totalitarian, exercising total control over their own citizens.
- World-level conference convened by Evangelicals with a representative from every people group on Earth, in last-minute attempt to complete evangelization of *panta ta ethne* by AD 2000.
- Catholics begin preparations to celebrate Jubilee Year of AD 2000, in the Holy Year series, with pope to telecast on 25 December 2000 to 6 billion viewers via network of satellites.
- Human transplant surgery multiplies; vast organ banks set up for freezing and storing of human organs, limbs, and undiseased youthful cadavers.
- All known human infectious diseases successfully eradicated in principle.
- Reunion of churches: faced with the world ridiculing the scandal of Christianity's fragmentation into 26,000 separate denominations, and under heavy governmental pressures, the world's largest churches (with 95% of all Christians) agree to begin immediate, loose, de facto reunion embracing intercommunion, fellowship, acceptance of ministries and a common shared name, the Church of Jesus Christ, or The Body of Christ.
- Professional consultation on any subject available to all in any language at low cost by telephone, provided by computer expert systems.
- Two-way wrist or pocket telephones/TVs/pagers/maintenance-free wrist computers/translatorphones in widespread use across globe.
- Ecological warfare perfected, including deliberate induction of earthquakes by triggering vibrations from a distance.
- World's greatest natural explosion, of submerged volcano Krakatoa off Java, far larger than first cataclysm in 1883.
- Huge numbers of Asian, African and Latinamerican youth converts reject or ignore historic and Western Christianity; on world level, Christians henceforth align themselves not on confessional or denominational lines but on racial lines in 10 vast ethnolinguistic megaclusters.
- Emergence of hundreds of new shortlived millennial religions or belief systems at local, national and global levels; ultra-fast-growing religious cults and revivals, millions joining and leaving in rapid succession.
- Antichrist III annihilates city of New York by missiles, reveals self's true identity in Horror of Horrors (Abomination of Desolation). (Nostradamus).
- Collapse of political Communism begins as both an ideology and a system, due to spread of Islam in Soviet Central Asia. (Nostradamus).
- All sizeable nations and many private groups have nuclear weapons or can easily purchase them.
- Global panic spreads as end of millennium approaches, widely believed to be 31 December 1999 (wrongly, since 20th century ends on 31 December 2000).

STATUS OF THE WORLD IN AD 2000

- 2000 *Postindustrialism*. 25% of mankind live in societies with postindustrial (transindustrial) economies, where producing necessities of life becomes trivially easy technologically, and in which therefore knowledge and information replace capital as society's most important resource.
- Demographics*. World population 6.1 billion (30.7% under 15, median age 26.1, life expectancy 63.9 years); 20-year period begins of probable population megadisasters due to famine, drought, crop failures, mismanagement, corruption, warfare (Neo-Malthusianism).
- Urbanization*. Supercities (urban agglomerations with over 4 million inhabitants) total 79 (59 in developing countries); megacities (with over 1 million) 433; urban dwellers number 51.2% of world, increasing by 1.6 million a week; urban slums expand far faster than cities, producing 'a planet of slums'.
- World's 10 largest cities: Mexico City 25,820,000, São Paulo 23,970,000, Tokyo/Yokohama 20,220,000, Calcutta 16,530,000, Bombay 16,000,000, New York/NENJ 15,780,000, Seoul 13,770,000, Teheran 13,580,000, Shanghai 13,260,000, Jakarta 13,250,000.
- Industrialization*. World industrial robot population 35 million; Japan 11,000,000 (and a million new ones a year), USA 7,500,000, USSR 5,600,000, FR Germany 3,600,000, France 1,620,000, Italy

foreign missionaries abroad, global television programs from Salt Lake City et alia.

Theology of mission. 100 years after J.R. Mott, Christian theology of religions, mission and evangelization (Protestant, Orthodox and Catholic) is still centered on Christ as sole Savior but has shifted radically towards a new universalism and recognition of value of world religions as ordinary or common ways of salvation, albeit incomplete without God's grace in Christ and his extraordinary or special way of salvation: world religions and Christianity are therefore widely regarded by many RCs and liberal Protestants (but denied by conservative evangelicals) as parallel paths to salvation, with final convergence reserved for the Eschaton.

21st CENTURY BEGINS PERIOD OR AGE OF CRISIS, AD 2001-2180

2001 Third Millennium of Christian era begins (on 1 January 2001).

Three-quarters of world's nations involved in wars: fate of Earth lies in balance for 2 centuries more until nuclear disarmament with nations finally abandoning warfare. (First of 4 periods envisaged in B. Stabileford & D. Langford, *The Third Millennium - a history*, 1985).

Major energy crisis with worldwide exhausting of fossil fuels and essential minerals.

Japan becomes most informationized society on Earth, based on massive mainframe megacomputers storing vast data/information/knowledge banks: Japan now world's leading nation in design, manufacture and export of communications technology.

Normal human lifespan extends to 150 years for 50% of Western world, but increased longevity only viable for future Homo species voyaging beyond Solar System.

Human migration into space begins: origin of astroculture

Chemists create staggering compounds for every area of human experience, including the ultimate glue (adhesives that replace all existing fasteners). Most human genes now mapped (100,000 genes to build a human being), due to gene-splicing technology: many of medicine's problems and mysteries solved.

Ocean level rises gradually by 50 feet until 2120 then falls, stabilizing from 2200-2400.

First true space colony (High Frontier or O'Neill-type) built and inhabited in orbit between Earth and Moon: first children born off Earth; 50,000 people now live and work in space.

Towing of asteroids Earthwards for mining planned, using mass driver (cost for 3-km-thick asteroid: \$200 billion); over 60 asteroids are known to cross Earth's orbit: but whole scheme delayed.

Wars fought with mercenary replicants (cloned humanoids with silicon intelligence), intelligent weapons, robot tanks, smart missiles, RPVs (remotely piloted vehicles), et alia.

2002 One vast megacomputer established under UN auspices, with centralized global data facility giving wide public access to library, business and home terminals.

Emergence of 7th-generation computers, powered not by electricity but by light beams.

Alien virus brought back by interplanetary spaceprobe wipes out 10% of population of Earth.

Startling influence of Christian world confessionalism continues to spread, at expense of world interdenominationalism, ecumenism and conciliarism: decline of WCC and its 200 associated continental and national councils of churches, under charges of having stood for ecumenical imperialism.

2003 90% of all world's first-class mail now transmitted electronically (electronic mail)

Third-generation artificial experience developed through mammoth artificial-intelligence computer systems creating 3-dimensional holograms of any historical or future reality or event in the Universe.

Corporate commercial warfare: giant multinational conglomerates engage in worldwide organized espionage, intimidation, threats, fraud, violence and terrorism to discourage competition.

Full-immersion video rooms in homes for families to surround themselves with tropical rain forest, a Mars landscape, a movie epic, et alia

The 7 major obstacles to Christian world mission become megamaterialism, mega-affluence, megapoverity, megapollution, megacrime, megaterrorism, megapersecution.

Postindustrial societies and transindustrial economies

2004 As result of microelectronics revolution, 50% of all jobs in industrial world have been eliminated over last 25 years: robots run 50% of world's industrial mass production.

Research on control of aging well on way to perfection

Hydrogen now the most popular small-scale energy source, powering commercial vehicles et alia

Seminaries, missionary training colleges, TEE et alia revolutionized by chemical transfer of learning: memory pills, knowledge pills, new

languages learned by injection.

Orient Express, or TAV (transatmospheric vehicle, a hypersonic space vehicle) takes off from and lands on conventional runways, deploys SDI payloads in space.

Gigantic electromagnetic railguns, mounted on mountainsides, accelerate cargo-carrying missiles to hypersonic speeds out into space

European vigilantes' group called Speedwatch systematically assassinates dangerous, drunk or speeding car drivers

Massive pentecostal-charismatic latter-rain revival sweeps across whole of Asia due to power evangelism with signs and wonders, with 150 million converts in Korea, Japan, China, Viet Nam, Thailand, Malaysia, Indonesia, Burma, Cambodia, India, Sri Lanka and Pakistan.

2005 Eco-collapse scenario: initial worldwide eco-catastrophe due to unabated population growth, resource depletion, pollution of the biosphere, destruction of the ecosphere and the sociosphere, crop failures, starvation, megafamines, et alia (Club of Rome).

Development of direct brain-computer interfaces as means of extending human mental capacity: human brains linked to supercomputers: also direct communication between computers and human central nervous system.

Cures found for every known 20th-century illness.

Polio as a children's disease is eliminated throughout world (goal of Rotarians since 1985).

Centennial celebrations of Baptist World Alliance (BWA) held at 19th Baptist World Congress.

First commercially viable biochip interface, linking a human by wire to multilingual interface computer.

Total strategic nuclear warheads rise from 14,000 in 1982 (USA 9,000, USSR 5,000) to 35,000 by 1995, then fall to 24,500 (USA 13,500, USSR 11,000) by 2005.

Tourism continues as world's biggest industry, with 700 million people travelling abroad for pleasure each year.

Telepathy in use for some types of communication, criminology, diplomacy, military intelligence, espionage.

Parapsychology comes into use as a military weapon used by terrorists, private armies, vigilantes, and military regimes.

Biotechnological disaster through a microbe spill: creation and accidental release of virulent microbes wipes out entire populations.

Medical advances: antiviral drugs and vaccines wipe out communicable diseases; genetic manipulation removes congenital defects: lung and brain-cell transplants become routine: nerve tissue regenerated to rehabilitate paraplegics and quadriplegics.

2006 Blatant state disinformation tactics cause havoc with organized Christianity: religious espionage, thefts of strategic plans, computerized embezzlement of funds, false accusations, forged documents, blackmail, heretical literature, pseudo-Christian broadcasting, terrorism falsely ascribed to Christian bodies.

Accepted safeguards for religious liberty begin to collapse worldwide: as persecution spreads, bulk of local churches cut all ties with centralized denominational control, break all conciliar links, and retreat into nonconciliarism and ecclesiastical isolationism.

International telephone system finally has enough switches (10^{10}) to become a conscious system, a giant brain similar to human brain (which has over 10^{11} or 100 billion neurons or cellular building blocks). (A.C. Clarke, 'Dial F for Frankenstein', 1965).

Earth invaded from outer space by Overlords in giant spaceships, who then assist humanity to continue its evolution into a Galaxy-wide and ever-expanding Overmind; but in the end humans reactivate volcanic energies of Earth's core and destroy planet. (A.C. Clarke's scenario, *Childhood's end*, 1953).

Conflict between science and religion finally disappears: physicists and biochemists become more concerned about questions of spirit, soul and creation than many theologians.

Neurotransmitters activate human brains and change mental performance: brain radios communicate with electricity in brain, enabling people to dial into any emotional, mental or sensual experience.

Declining Euroamerican denominations in Western world spark off itinerant tourist churches, groupings of believers ceaselessly travelling and witnessing around the Earth: Latin Americans form itinerant pilgrim churches which multiply phenomenally across world

2007 Development of vast single computer which runs world, world economy and world government and monitors and controls all other computers. (I. Asimov, *The life and times of Multivac*, 1975).

All Persian Gulf states run out of oil, virtual exhaustion of petroleum reserves: Saudi Arabia, Gulf states, Iran, Libya et alia lose accumulated oil wealth, revert to pauper status.

Establishment of first nonterrestrial permanent resource base, either on Moon or Mars or in space

21st-century epidemic Plague Wars, with appalling variety of new lethal diseases, begin with 15 million killed by influenza virus in southern Africa, leading to violent overthrow of White rule in South Africa; 2015, deliberately-engineered plague in Los Angeles, USA, kills 1 million; 2024, VD virus kills 5 million in Poland, 7 million in outbreak in Brussels; 2049, 38 million killed in China by lightning hepatitis, finally checked by 2060 (The Third Millennium, 1985).

- nium. (Nostradamus).
 After Holocaust, Christianity spreads again around world in global revival led by 'an ancient, Black and primitive Church': ascendancy of Non-White indigenous Christianity.
 Capitalism now seen to have virtually destroyed itself as a viable ideology.
 Conversion of China to Christianity through multitude of Chinese house-church evangelists and witnesses, resulting in 1.5 billion zealous, charismatic, nondenominational Christians, who then launch their own global mission without reference to Western or Eastern churches and missions.
 Large-scale terraforming of other planets begins (transforming them to be habitable by humans).
 Western world relies on sun, wind and water for 60% of all power and heating needs.
 Continuing decline in rainfall by 55% over Africa: Sahara Desert, world's largest, advances 300 km farther south.
 Nations in space are set up, living on very large orbiting space colonies, 20 miles long, 4 miles in diameter, 10 million population each; eventually 30% of human population lives in space by 2200.
 Multinational companies of 20th century evolve into huge global corporations, each using a single global marketing strategy; top 50 are bigger and richer than many nations.
 World's 10 largest cities: Mexico City 36 million, São Paulo 33 million, Bombay 27 million, Calcutta 26 million, Teheran 25 million, Delhi 24 million, Tokyo/Yokohama 23 million, Dacca 22 million, Jakarta 21 million, Karachi 20 million.
- 2031 Advanced extraterrestrials, who have discarded biology in favor of electronics, become one gigantic collective intelligence, with immense computer as its only body; machine uses lasers to transmit instructions for its own replication on Earth.
- 2032 Telemedicine and computer diagnosis: computer replaces physician as primary agent of health care.
 Biological research extends possible normal human life-span to 800 years; by transcending nature, disease and death, man becomes potentially an immortal species.
- 2034 Manipulation of genetic material (pantropy): genetic packages of fertilized human eggs begin to be altered before birth to fit alien environments, e.g. zero-gravity or high-gravity conditions, or deep water, or speed-of-light travel.
- 2035 Holography comes into universal use (projecting image of a 3-dimensional object in space): laser holography expands, replacing and duplicating museums and exhibitions; specialized museums now display holograms of priceless art treasures while originals remain securely stored; also 4-dimensional dynamic holograms for science and research.
 Invention of time-machine capable of viewing any event in history, in complete 3-dimensional color with stereophonic sound.
 Computers and robots become more intelligent than humans, make all major decisions.
 First major space city opened, on Moon: HQ of United Nations moves there.
 First Declaration of Independence by Spacekind from Earthkind: space colonies in orbit between Earth and Moon set up own government.
- 2036 In barbaric aftermath of 30-year world war, altruistic scientists help launch world's first space flight. (H.G. Wells scenario and film, *The Shape of Things to Come*, 1934-5).
- 2038 Over 250 million people live on High Orbital Mini Earths (HOMEs), 100 million having been born there; majority leaving Earth are female; majority can never return to Earth; violent competitive theocracies emerge, also varieties of crime.
 Scientific recognition of spiritual dimension in world; power of prayer explained in terms of Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle.
 End of world, one of several dates predicted by Nostradamus (his earlier date: 1943).
- 2039 Earth's colonies on other planets rebel; brief battle between their forces and Earth's, then their independence is recognized.
- 2040 Magnetic floaters in operation: high-speed underground transport systems travelling in vacuum at 2,000 km per hour through Earth propelled by magnetic fields.
 Accelerating change, increasing since beginning of Industrial Revolution in AD 1775, now becomes critical (as measured by statistical indicator—growth of mass of knowledge, doubling every 10 years in 1980 and every 2 years by 2040).
 Decline of great religions and quasi-religions, including Marxism.
 Worst anti-Christian persecution in history, involving terrorism, huge mob riots, fanaticism, racism, all instigated and coordinated by hostile world government
 World's 10 largest cities: Mexico City 38 million, São Paulo 35 million, Bombay 30 million, Teheran 28 million, Calcutta 28 million, Delhi 27 million, Dacca 25 million, Jakarta 23 million, Karachi 22 million, Tokyo/Yokohama 22 million.
- TERMINAL ECO-CATASTROPHE SCENARIO**
- 2040 Limits-to-growth end scenario: final collapse of world civilization (as predicted by Club of Rome in 1972) due to population increase and poverty in biosphere, pollution and industrialization in ecosphere; supplies of many minerals and food items exhausted; freak weather conditions; collapse of world transport systems; famine among urban populations, runaway greenhouse effect on Earth, leaks of radioactive waste, pesticide-immune insects, corrosive rain, et alia.
- Universal information system on Earth: single global telephone and videocopy system, instant access by all to contents of any book, magazine, document, program or fact ever published.
 Moon (Luna) acquires colony of several hundred thousand human contract workers (not permanent colonists, due to its low gravity) mining aluminum, iron, silicon.
 Earth's resources of numerous important essential minerals and metals finally exhausted.
 In climax of hostility, world government turns definitively against churches, orders all followers of Christ worldwide without exception to identify themselves publicly and then to proceed within next 6 months to one central location (an island) where they will then be exterminated by nuclear device, in ultimate act of deliberate and voluntary martyrdom; Christians refusing to do so being officially pronounced to have denied Christ and then rewarded with massive material benefits.
- 2045 Global Bible distribution reaches optimal maximum level of 10 billion Scriptures per year (whole Bibles, NTs, portions, selections), in languages understood by whole world's population; but highly susceptible both to antichristian terrorism and also to world government edicts.
 Breeding of intelligent animals (apes, cetaceans, et alia) for low-grade labor.
 First humans land on Mars.
- 2049 Gantz organic homes produced by genetically-engineered bacteria manufacturing organic glues binding soil together; lifestyles transformed in crumbling Third-World cities.
- 2050 **Global status of Christianity:** 67.2 generations after Christ, world is 37.0% Christians, 99.0% evangelized; with printed Scriptures available in 5,000 languages.
50% of all Christians are charismatics (pentecostals, neo-pentecostals, apostolics, et alii), as are **70% of all church workers and 90% of all foreign missionaries.**
 World's 10 largest cities: Mexico City 40 million, São Paulo 37 million, Bombay 32 million, Teheran 31 million, Calcutta 30 million, Delhi 30 million, Dacca 27 million, Jakarta 25 million, Karachi 24 million, Bangkok 24 million; all but 2 being non-Christian or anti-Christian.
 After 200 years of attempts, world at last adopts a single constructed international auxiliary language, a variant of Glossa, Sunia or English. (A.C. Clarke).
 World's private cars and aircraft travel (latter at 350 mph) entirely under control of central traffic computers.
 Control of gravity on Earth achieved. (A.C. Clarke).
 Risk of total destruction of human race through nuclear war recedes as vast numbers emigrate to distant space colonies.
 'Freedom IV', first interstellar starship carrying humans intending to seek planets to colonize, departs for Alpha Centauri star system 4.3 light-years from Earth. (L.S. Wolfe & R.L. Wysack's scenario).
 Experimentation with human DNA reaches peak, leaving behind freak individuals, freak groups, freak colonies, freak races.
 World adult literacy rises from 15% in 1800, to 55% in 1960, to 70% by 2000, to 90% by 2050.
 Computer-controlled commercial factory farms become universal.
 Mankind's basic character fails to improve despite scientific advances; life still disrupted by greed, lust, dishonesty, corruption, and desire for power.
Christianity now dominated worldwide by Third-World indigenous pentecostal-charismatic bodies, spreading like wildfire through unorganized self-replicating media churches.
 Multigeneration starships (taking several generations, e.g. 200 years, to reach destinations) built, with nuclear fusion reactors, travelling at 10% of speed of light (with continuous 1g acceleration, speed after 1 year = 95% of speed of light).
 Relativistic spaceflight makes entire Universe accessible to those on the journey: starships that accelerate continuously at 1g reach 95% of speed of light within one year, reaching center of Galaxy in apparent 21 years (for an elapsed time of 30,000 years), circumnavigating entire Universe in 56 years ship time.
 Rise of eccentric religious cult, Neo-Manichees, an orbital religion with no meeting places except television screens; their 'statistical theology' disproves, and destroys faith in, a personal God
- 2055 **Cybernetic Wave** (A. Toffler's Fourth Wave) arrives, based on artificial intelligence, brain-computer linkups, biochips, instant creativity.
 Cyborg minds widespread, through implanting electronic accessory brains in human brains, including biocomps (bionic-implant computer terminals) which monitor, calculate and advise the host brain
 Religions become closely influenced by, even based on, chemistry once chemical basis of all life is understood.
 Human normal lifespan extends to 250 years for 75% of human race.
 Urban dwellers number 80% of world's population, 80% of them being in Third World.
 Plagues due to viruses from space ravage Earth killing billions. (M.

- Crichton, *The Andromeda strain*, 1969).
- 2060 Reunion of all major separated branches of Christianity achieved: Catholic, Protestant, Anglican, Orthodox, organically united in 'the Coming Great Church'.
Medical means discovered to achieve earthly immortality, even circumventing accidental death, open to 95% of Western world's population; also ability of individuals to change sex at will.
Population increase deliberately reduced to near zero by procreation, the procedure whereby every child born is deliberately chosen, wanted and adored, birth defects a nightmare of the past.
Synthetape replaces film, sophisticated software available for synthesizing visual images, human actors no longer necessary. 2120, 3-D holographic epics made using 3-dimensional synthetape.
Bus, subway and other transportation services in most of world's large cities are now provided free of charge.
- 2065 World population, on mediodemographic scenario, levels off at around 12 billion, well below Earth's absolute capacity (*Interfutures* OECD Project, 1979).
Small handheld pocket computers serve as audio translators into 300 different languages for instantaneous spoken translation, also for instantaneous transcribing and translated printout.
- 2070 Combining of ectogenesis with eugenics so that only superior humans can propagate.
Europe and Eurasia become 70% nonreligious or antireligious.
The Lost Billion: a 1,000 million subsistence farmers, displaced from their land, become religious cultists and urban guerrillas dedicated to mass assassination before being gradually destroyed.
- 2075 Human beings control spaceships via skull sockets linked to ships' computers.
Man reaches travel at near-light speeds, participants' apparent longevity increases markedly.
- 2080 Transporting and storing of energy done through liquid hydrogen as preferred medium.
Human race uses 15 times as much energy annually as it did in 1980.
Stable world government in place: either a Soviet empire, or an American empire, or joint Soviet/American, based on English and/or Russian; or the Millennial Kingdom.
Criminal procedures of all nations standardized everywhere.
Uniform world monetary system established and enforced.
All persons everywhere required to furnish total personal data annually for police work, social research, eugenic reform, et alia.
Eugenic infanticide widespread (killing of handicapped children at birth).
English becomes sole international language of science, technology, scholarship, culture, diplomacy, and Christianity.
Spread of Christianity throughout Chinese and Arab races generates vast missionary zeal to point where both launch independent schemes for total world evangelization and conversion.
- 2082 Moon is now settled by humans, with 50,000 Lunarians (5,000 born on Moon, who have never visited Earth); at height of tourist season, total population rises to 110,000.
Escalating arms race halted and finally terminated by (1) new generation of ultra-sophisticated computers in spy satellites, and (2) economic decline among superpowers, who finally hound international arms merchants into extinction.

EXTRATERRESTRIAL INTELLIGENCE AND INTERSTELLAR NEGOTIATION SCENARIO

- 2085 First verifiable alien contact with extraterrestrial intelligence among our Galaxy's (Milky Way's) 400 billion stars, where between 100 and 1 million other advanced technical civilizations (capable of interstellar radio communication) probably exist, as well as up to 1 billion lesser communicative civilizations (none resembling humanity); nearest, possibly only 100 light-years distant.
Existence discovered of vast star empires, great civilizations and alien cultures unimaginably far advanced.
Planetary war scenario, alien beings from planet Mars, emotionless Martian killers, invade Earth, Darwinian struggle for survival of human race until Martians finally killed off by microbes (H.G. Wells' scenario, *The War of the Worlds*, 1898).
Alien religion (religion of extraterrestrials, very popular theme of science fiction) found to take many bizarre forms: worship of sentient crystals, worship of intelligent polished black monoliths, etc.
Holy Bible available translated into all 7,000 human languages, in numerous forms: print, comics, audio, video, drama, pictodrama, psychodrama, holographic, telephonic, and computerized forms; with instant holographic commentary by galaxy of scholars, Bible teachers and preachers from throughout history.
Biggest earthquake ever recorded devastates Japan, breaks Honshu in two, blasts Shikoku apart, killing 15 million; most Japanese emigrate worldwide to form a global technological diaspora.
- 2090 Mass global transportation systems, with zero energy loss, in operation: (a) through Earth in vacuum tubes, superspeed floater vehicles travelling at 7 miles a second, 39 minutes from one side of Earth to the other; and (b) into space, either using balloon-borne floater guideways, or

- space elevators riding up on super-strength cable.
Military expenditures, 10% of world income in 1980, fall to 2% by 2090, eventually to 1% by 2200 and to 0.1% by 2500.
Military arsenals include ultra-sophisticated weaponry: antimatter beams, laser rays, bullets near speed of light.
Vast volumes of galactic space regularly monitored by remote sensing instead of by direct patrolling.
First manned starship sent to nearby stars within 40 light-years known to have planets; interstellar manned flight within 1% of speed of light achieved, using ion drive, carbon-dioxide laser, composite optics, and immensely potent energy source—reaction of matter with antimatter (A.C. Clarke, G.K. O'Neill).
Self-reproducing replicator factories, replicating exact copies of original machines/electronics/cybernetics; by 2380, up to any complexity reproducible within 10 years.
New-style religions and mystical nature cults arise opposing biotechnology.
- 2095 Superpowers, faced by omniscient presence of alien beings of vastly superior technology, agree to abandon war and destroy all armaments.
Church of the martyrs, on one scenario, ruthless 80-year persecution by world government reaches climax, decimates global Christianity, reduces churches to a tiny minority, then liquidates all churches, which thus follow their Master to final execution and martyrdom.

THE DISTANT FUTURE (beyond 21st century AD)

- 2101 **Global status of Christianity:** 68.9 generations after Christ, world is 40% Christians (75% of them being Non-Whites), 99.5% evangelized; with printed Scriptures available in all 7,000 languages.
World population reaches a peak of 8,250 million, then starts to decline. (C. McEvedy & R. Jones scenario).
World becomes either high-technology, ample-energy utopia, or a low-technology, overcrowded, energy-poor dystopia.
First space arks begin to be made from hollowed-out asteroids.
Some 10,000 orbiting space colonies exist around Earth, 100 million to 2 billion permanent population, including more USA citizens than remain in USA; after 5 generations their cultures draw apart even to mutual linguistic unintelligibility.
Vast dispersion of human race into colonies across Galaxy makes humankind invulnerable to any single future disaster.
Decline of industrial espionage, software sabotage, and computer crime, due to proficiency and omnipresence of police forces.

A new Dark Age begins

- A new Age of Barbarism arises, with world ground underfoot by war, religious fanaticism, neo-Islamic domination, terror, and Antichrist for 2 centuries before final advent of the Golden Millennium in AD 2300. (Nostradamus).
Cities of over 100 million inhabitants built, completely 3-dimensional and soundproofed, with varieties of transport on many levels; eventually cities each with over 1 billion residents, each with hundreds of thousands of museums, theaters, aquatic centers, recreation centers, universities, libraries, research institutes.
Global dictatorship established under guise of a religious cult, the Prophets; a theocracy enforced by watchful 'Angels of the Lord'. (R. Heinlein, *Revolt in 2100*, 1940).
- 2102 Manufacture of androids: artificially-produced human creatures made out of organic materials.
Immense macro-engineering projects arise: space elevators (skyhook), with 100-ton cars climbing cable at 3,700 miles per hour for 22,300 miles to satellite, 150-foot plastic pipe diverts Rhone river under Mediterranean to irrigate North African desert, shipment of Antarctic icebergs to Sahara desert.
World's population rises to 10,185 million (Africa 2.5 billion, Latin America 1.3 billion, South Asia 3 billion, East Asia 1.8 billion, Northern America 400 million, Europe (stabilized since 2050) at 500 million. (UN projections 1984).
'Blade runners' (replicant-killers) widely employed to kill or 'retire' renegade Nexus-6 replicants (4-year-life androids). (Movie 'Blade Runner' 1982).
- 2110 Whole world now follows essentially a planned economy, due to proliferating UN agencies.
Global sea-farming: seaweed becomes one of world's major food crops; 2130, Pacific coast of South America hosts long chain of kelp farms, vast regions of oceans sown with enriched plankton harvested by huge factory ships; 2180, whole ocean industry under UN control.
- 2112 'Albert Einstein', first faster-than-light starship, departs on exploratory mission to 10 star systems. (L.S. Wolfe & R.L. Wyszack's scenario).
- 2120 Spacetorium, an orbiting clinic, established in space where 900 ultra-wealthy geriatrics with heart and degenerative problems can retire. Rising ocean levels finally destroy Shanghai, one of world's greatest trading cities.
- 2130 Starship drives include (a) nuclear ion-drive, (b) propulsion by pressure of light, (c) pulsed fusion-bomb explosions at 250 per second, (d) Bussard ramscop starship (designed in 1960), (e) antimatter/photon

Fission and fusion diagrams have a long and distinguished history in the study of how and when Christianity's vast number of denominations have arisen. All the major Christian traditions have them, explaining how today's denominations have evolved out of yesterday's. Here we show a comprehensive diagram illustrating the whole of Christian history up to the present, this being given in identical form in the following 4 diagrams as the lefthand part of each diagram.

We then show 4 possible alternate futures for Christianity. These 4 miniscenarios are shown as the righthand part of each diagram, covering the period 1987-2100, i.e. the next century.

The flow chart or development diagram on the next 4 pages, with its 4 alternate futures, illustrates the Chronology on the previous pages. It can be divided into 2 stages, (1) the past and present (illustrating Cosmic Era II) and (2) the future (illustrating Cosmic Era III).

I. THE PAST AND PRESENT: Cosmic Era II

The lefthand half of the diagram shows the expansion of Christianity over the centuries, and sketches its fragmentation or fission into 7 major blocs or streams, 156 different ecclesiastical traditions and 22,200 separate and distinct denominations or churches. It also illustrates recent movements towards church reunion or fusion. The diagram should be studied in conjunction with the detailed statistics of the evolution of these phenomena given in Global Tables 1, 2, 9, 26, and 27 in the *World Christian encyclopedia* (1982). The various concepts and schemata in this diagram may be explained as follows.

THE 7 MAJOR BLOCS. As set forth in this Encyclopedia, all Christians can be divided into the following 7 major blocs or streams of Christianity: Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Catholics (non-Roman), Protestants, Anglicans, Non-White indigenous Christians, and marginal Protestants. In the diagram, the boundaries of these blocs are shown by heavy full lines.

THE 156 TRADITIONS. The 7 major blocs can be further subdivided into around 156 ecclesiastical traditions, by which are meant the various confessions, families or types of Christianity. In the diagram, the boundaries of a selection of these traditions are shown by light full lines.

MAJOR DENOMINATIONS. Within the 156 traditions there have been formed over 22,200 separate autonomous denominations or churches. A detailed analysis of the location of these denominations by bloc and continent is given in *WCE*, Global Table 26; but this evolution is not shown here.

CHURCH REUNIONS. Since the year 1900, at least 180 denominations including some of the largest have merged to form over 60 united churches. Where a vertical line is shown not full but broken, it indicates a continuity of communion from the left side through to the right. This means the formation of either united churches, or uniting churches (in process or under way), or internal realignments, or the eventual single reunited world church.

ORIGINS. The diagram depicts in brief the origins and development of blocs and traditions on the world scene over 20 centuries, shows where they came from and how they have fared, and indicates, schematically and relatively, the numerical strength of each over the centuries up to the year 1987.

CHRONOLOGY. The horizontal scale represents time, or chronology. The lefthand half of the diagram covers, from left to right, the period from AD 33 to 1987, with projection to the year AD 2000 shown by the major vertical line.

NUMERICAL SIZE. Vertical scale represents, approximately or schematically, the numerical size of Christians affiliated to the various traditions or blocs at any particular year up to the present.

CENTRALIZATION. Across the centre of the page a horizontal axis can be envisaged, which represents the concept of centralization, including the concepts of unified control, uniformity, and collaboration. It represents schematically the position of churches with centralized structure, centralized hierarchy, centralized organization, centralized administration, and centralized tradition, doctrine, ritual and liturgy. As the most centralized of all churches, the Roman Catholic Church therefore straddles this axis in the diagram.

DECENTRALIZATION. The position of a tradition (or bloc, or denomination) above or below this central axis represents the concept of decentralization, which includes the concepts of local congregational autonomy, departure from centralization, ruptures of relations, splits, schismatic movements. Traditions (or blocs, or denominations) which have separated from or moved away from the Church of Rome in order to decentralize some aspect of their church life are thus found above or below the central axis. The same is true for subsequent divisions from other churches.

STRUCTURALISM. The position of a bloc or body vertically on the diagram also stands for what may be called the concept of relative ecclesiastical or structural conservatism or liberalism: from conservative at the top to liberal at the bottom. At the top are right-wing or conservative structures such as the Oriental Orthodox or monophysite churches which still largely use ancient dead languages in worship. Along the central axis is the Roman Catholic Church. Below the axis

are Protestant churches and others in what may be called left-wing or liberal structures adapted to their eras. Going down the page are found increasingly left-wing or liberal or radical traditions rejecting centralization or uniformity of structure, hierarchy, tradition, doctrine, ritual or liturgy. Next below follows the range of Non-White indigenous churches across the world which have rejected Western and Eastern Christianity along with all attempts at control by these latter blocs. Finally, along the extreme lower edge of the diagram is a fringe of free-thinking or radically heterodox bodies originating in the Western Protestant world. These are here termed marginal Protestant bodies because of their peripheral nature in relation to mainstream or mainline or orthodox Christianity.

EVOLUTION. Lines across the diagram from left to right indicate evolution, i.e. the way in which the 7 major blocs (separated by heavy lines) and the 156 traditions (separated by light lines) have evolved and crystallized out over the centuries. At first sometimes the lines are dotted, illustrating how new traditions begin to form within existing traditions and exist therein for a time before rupture of relations with the parent or adjacent traditions takes place. Sometimes a dotted line means the first stage in the parting of the ways when a large body begins to divide into two. If and when a rupture or schism eventually takes place, this is shown at that point by the line changing from dotted to full. If the rupture is later healed, and the schism is reabsorbed into the parent, the line stops at that point in its movement across the page. Church unions or mergers can be illustrated by such lines, with the original separate traditions shown bounded by full lines, then after union the lines are dotted until the traditions begin to lose their original identity in the new united body and eventually disappear.

SCHISMS OR FISSIONS. Full lines drawn vertically indicate the clearest formation of a schismatic or separate body out of an existing body, or the breaking of communion with those on the left by those on the right of the line. In most cases such schisms have been a small or minority part of the existing body. When a large parent body splits into 2 or more parts of comparable size, however, the vertical line covers all of the parts.

2. THE FUTURE: Cosmic Era III

ALTERNATE FUTURES. The righthand half of the 4 diagrams that follow represent 4 different, possible alternate futures, covering the whole range or spectrum of possibilities ahead for Christianity. These start with the year 1987 and become crystallized at the heavy vertical line (full or broken) representing AD 2000. They then extend to the righthand edge of the diagram, which represents approximately AD 2100. Lines, rules and scales all have the same meanings as described above for the lefthand half of the diagram. Notes under each diagram explain the details and differentia of each case.

FOUR SCENARIOS. It is possible to envisage a large range of possible alternate futures for Christianity. The 4 chosen here can be labelled as follows: Monodominationalism, Nondenominationalism, Posidenominationalism, Martyrdom.

NON-CHRISTIAN MOVEMENTS. The entities shown outside the heaviest lines delineating the edges or boundaries of Christianity properly so called, fall into 6 categories as follows: (1) churches which cannot, or can no longer, be called Christian, as a result of abandoning or denying the centrality of Christ as Savior, Lord and God, (2) bogus churches, often allied with anti-Christian infiltrators; (3) non-Christian cults including New Age movements, (4) non-Christian religions, (5) secular creeds (secularism, agnosticism), and (6) anti-Christian creeds (atheism).

DEFLECTIONS. The arrows from within Christianity to outside its boundaries stand for losses or defections from Christianity into the above-described non-Christian entities.

TYPES OF FUTURE CHURCH. Superimposed on each diagram's future part is a series of popularly-used or often-used titles or names for the church in the future. These names are all shown in the same type size and style, each within an oval or ellipse.

MAJOR DATES OR YEARS. Dates (years) in the text under each diagram indicate major times or turning points or watersheds in the future when significant events seem likely to occur. Each date refers the reader to the text of the Chronology itself, where he will find a brief descriptive entry with additional details.

FOOTNOTES. On each diagram will be seen a small number of capital letters, thus: A, B, C, D, etc. These represent important situations or developments at the points indicated. Each is explained in a short sentence or phrase below the diagram.

3. DESCRIPTION OF THE SCENARIOS

From some points of view, the 4 scenarios are similar to the story of Creation and the range of possible alternate subsequent fates of the Universe. First, the church comes into existence as suddenly and dramatically as in the Big Bang. Second, the church is still expanding fast today. Third, in the future the church

(like the Universe) could either turn out to be *open* and continue expanding indefinitely (as Scenarios 2 and 3 suggest), or it could turn out to be *flat* and plateau at a certain level (Scenario 1), or it could turn out to be *closed* and reverse its growth and collapse in a catastrophe parallel to the Big Crunch (Scenario 4)

Here are brief descriptions of the scenarios

SCENARIO 1: MONODENOMINATIONALISM

In his High Priestly prayer, the Lord Jesus prayed 3 times (John 17:21, 22, 23) for his disciples 'that they may all become perfectly one' (Latin 'Ut omnes unum sint'), 'so that the world may believe'. Subsequently, however, his followers have formed themselves into, by 1987, the 22,200 distinct and separate religious denominations, which often fight or war or compete with each other. Most have nothing to do with most of the rest. This scandal of disunity and fragmentation has been widely seen over the centuries as a major obstacle to evangelizing or converting the world.

All down the ages Christians have longed and prayed to be united as Christ prayed, with the resultant converting power. This first scenario therefore sets out, as a possible future, a situation in which this actually takes place. It envisages all the major denominations of the world finally agreeing in 1999 to begin an immediate, loose, de facto reunion of the churches, thus forming one single denomination. This might come about, no doubt, in reaction to growing world ridicule or to heavy pressures from political regimes (as happened in Japan in 1940, or Zaire in 1970). At the least, it would encompass mutual fellowship, joint recognition, intercommunion, acceptance of ministries, joint evangelization and a common shared name—perhaps 'The Church of Jesus Christ', or 'The Body of Christ'.

One result might well be that Christianity, as today, continues to just hold its own numerically in a hostile world, neither expanding nor declining noticeably.

Despite governmental pressures and demands, full organic union might well then take a further 60 years to evolve. There would certainly be internal opposition, not least from former Protestants.

SCENARIO 2: NONDENOMINATIONALISM

A second possible alternate future envisages the vast mass of ordinary Christian believers finally losing patience with the scandal of denominational fragmentation. They take drastic action: they simply disown the structures of centralized Christianity. By 2000, the groundswell of irritation has reached massive proportions. The laity everywhere (who form 99.7% of all Christians) now break ties with denominational headquarters, ignore confessional pretensions, and concentrate solely on local worship, fellowship, witness, service and evangelism. They still retain their denominational identities and traditions, but recognize no central offices or agencies.

The scenario sees all Christians then as clustering into 5 loose, decentralized, unorganized, lay megaclusters, ritualists, traditionalists, charismatics, indigenous and marginals. In particular, huge charismatic revivals sweep across

Asia, winning hundreds of millions from the great non-Christian world religions. Centralized denominationalism withers and dies out. Spontaneous Christianity surfaces everywhere with vast numbers of ceaselessly itinerating churches of pilgrims, tourists, et alii

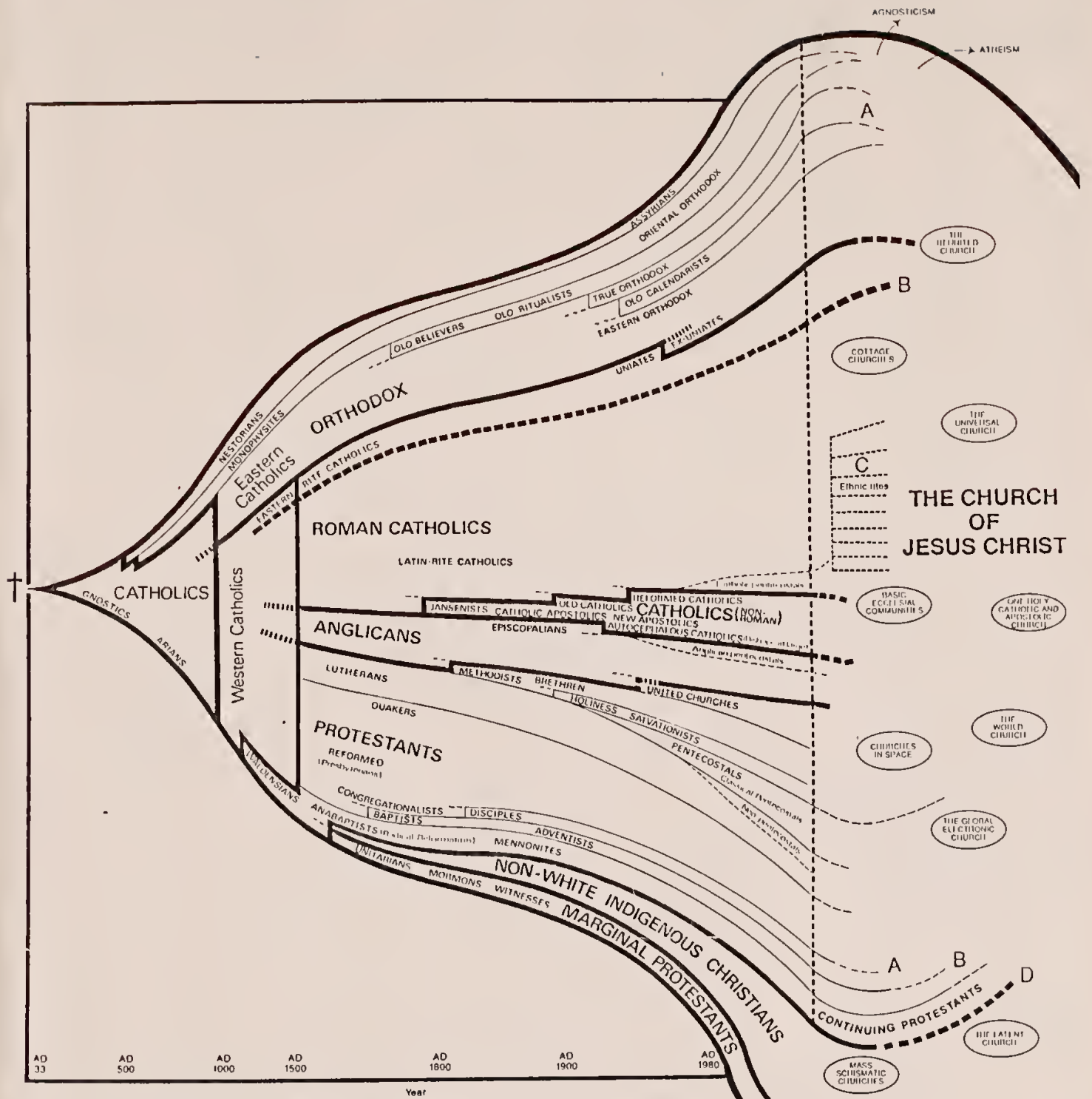
SCENARIO 3: POSTDENOMINATIONALISM

A third possible alternate future sees the huge mass of dynamic Christianity as largely made up of Third-World charismatic youths who operate only through their own racial and linguistic identities. Disillusioned with both centralized ecclesiastical organization, and also the whole traditions and identities of denominationalism and confessionalism, they reject all ties with Western Christianity and ignore or brush aside all aspects of traditional or historic Christianity. Denominations now become part of the forgotten past. Instead of aligning themselves with historical divisions, these future Christians operate on the de facto, natural lines of language, ethnic and racial affiliation. This results in 10 unorganized ethnolinguistic megaclusters whose vastly divergent socioeconomic status or plight characterizes them as follows (in order of affluence in AD 2000): Euroamericans (the Church of the Rich); Arab-Asians and the newly-converted Jewish race (the Church of the Biblical Lifestyle, i.e. the original cradle or arena or context of biblical Christianity in which Arab and Jewish converts are neither rich and affluent nor desperately poor); Amerindians, Australasians and Aborigines (the Church of the Powerless); Afro-Americans (the Church of the Poor, mainly in Africa); Asiatic-Chinese (the Church of the Masses, with mind-boggling numbers of new converts); Latinamericans (the Church of the Desperately Poor); and lastly, Indo-Iranians (the Church of the Absolutely Poor). A peripheral category must be added, namely marginal Protestants in churches holding as revelation both the Bible and also a second source, these are largely elite affluent Euroamericans (in what, by comparison, we may call the Church of the Megarich).

Despite these unforgivably and violently opposed lifestyles, on this scenario Christianity as a whole continues its massive expansion across the globe, throughout the 21st century.

SCENARIO 4: MARTYRDOM

The fourth possible alternate future depicts Christianity as a whole being extinguished. Rather than continuing its missionary expansion across the world (as with Scenarios 2 and 3), or barely holding its own (as with Scenario 1), global Christianity could be definitively wiped out by deliberate intent. At present, most of Christianity today (around 84%) is recognized as legal by secular governments, with only 16% being illegal or banned and so forced to exist clandestinely. But this proportion of legal Christianity is rapidly decreasing. This diagram portrays the worst-case scenario which some biblical exegetes see the Scriptures as envisaging, the church is declared totally illegal and banned, then goes into the Great Tribulation and is totally destroyed by the ruthless world system, with all believers being martyred to the last individual, making the ultimate and final witness to Christ



SCENARIO 1: MONODENOMINATIONALISM

MAJOR DATES OR YEARS (see Chronology for details). 1990 'Evangelization 2000' calls for reunion of all churches within 10 years. 1997 Proliferation of local organic church unions. 1999 Loose de facto reunion under title 'The Church of Jesus Christ.' 2009 Global holographic worship organized. 2016 Roman Latin rite breaks up. 2060 Full organic union finally achieved.

FOOTNOTES. A = Some traditions take longer than others to accept reunion. B = Nonessential distinctions gradually disappear. C = Latin rite divides into 500 ethnic rites for some years. D = Later, Non-White indigenous churches enter into full fellowship. E = Limited fellowship in Christ even with Marginals.

AD 2000
 RESURGENT WORLD RELIGIONS
 NEW AGE CULTS
 PSYCHOCHYMICAL CHURCHES
 AD 2100

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bishops from each province, and they will choose a man and appoint him to the church of Koke (the patriarchal see in Seleucia). The letter may also have dealt with the choice of metropolitans. It is signed by Mar Aba and three bishops, but the list of signatories is clearly incomplete.

The last item in the record is described as the Canons of Mar Aba (SO, pp 555-61). These may have been approved by the Synod of 544.³ Some of the laws are manifestly adopted from the Council of Nicaea and from various other Councils of the Greek Church, as well as from the Synod of Mar Isaac (410). They are summarized below.

1. The difference between a village priest and a city priest.
2. If a priest, deacon or urban clerk leaves his district to go elsewhere, he cannot exercise his ecclesiastical function in his new territory. If his bishop calls him back and he does not come, he will be deprived of his status in the Church.
- 3-5. Liturgical niceties involving priests, deacons, and sub-deacons.
6. Exorcism can be practised only with the permission of the bishop.
9. Meat-eating is approved.
- 10-11. On avoiding relations with heretics, including praying with them.
12. On excluding rapists from the Church.
13. An archdeacon must remain in the province, and a bishop in the city, to which they were appointed.
14. On priests and deacons, and the correct procedure in receiving communion.
16. On a woman who married two brothers (in succession).
17. Women may not cut their hair.
18. There is to be only one bishop in a town or city.
- 20. Voluntary eunuchs cannot be received into the Church.
24. Clerics when invited by the faithful to funerary or secular feasts, are to eat moderately.
25. On Sunday the Gospel and "the other books" are to be read; the word of God should be preached until the third or fourth hour; then the sacrifice is to be offered.
27. A priest or deacon under a bishop's interdiction is not to be received by another bishop.
- 29-31. A priest, a deacon or a sub-deacon, absent without excuse from the church when divine service is on, will be deprived of his office.
33. Thirty years is the minimum age for ordination to the priesthood.
35. Gifts for the church ought to be entrusted to a faithful lay steward.
36. A sub-deacon, to qualify for ordination, must be able to recite the Psalms by heart.
37. On the selection of a bishop after the death of an incumbent bishop.

³ Labourt (p 187, note 2) questions the authenticity of these canons.

38. Those contracting consanguineous marriages (these are described in detail) are to be censured and excommunicated (cf the second document, a letter from Mar Aba, referred to earlier).

39. Appeals against censure.

40. Our interpretation of the Nicene Creed is the one proposed by Theodore, the bishop of Mopsuestia.

The twelve years of Mar Aba's Catholicate illustrate the difficulties which Christians had in an environment in which the Zoroastrian leaders were consistently hostile to them. The Catholicos was called before a council of the Magi c 541-42, but he refused to change the Church's canons regarding marriage, nor would he abandon the proselytization practices of Christians, and he was therefore committed to detention in a village in Azerbaijan. Here he remained for seven years but he was allowed limited freedom so that he carried on many of his duties as Catholicos and saw those who could make the journey to where he was. About the year 548 an unsuccessful attempt on his life by an excommunicated Christian, persuaded Mar Aba to flee from the village in which he was kept, and he came to Seleucia and presented himself unexpectedly to the court. Despite the anger of the Magi, the king spared Mar Aba's life and put him in prison, and when the court moved about, so did Mar Aba. The Catholicos played a part in suppressing a revolt against the king begun by one, Anoshazad a Christian, in Beth Lapat, by counselling the local Christians not to support the rebel and for his services the king freed Mar Aba. But he lived only till 552. Another account is that he remained in prison and there died. He is said to have been given a magnificent public funeral in the Persian capital.

According to sources cited by Wright (pp 19-20), Mar Aba translated the whole of the OT into Syriac (presumably from the Septuagint) and perhaps also the NT. But what effect this work had on the current text of the Scriptures used by the Nestorians is not clear.

3. The Synod of Mar Joseph (554).

Joseph,⁴ after training in medicine in the Byzantine world, returned to Nisibis, possibly his home, and became a monk. One tradition states that he successfully treated Khusro for an illness, which may explain why in May 552 the king nominated him as Catholicos in succession to Mar Aba. Apparently the metropolitans and bishops had congregated in Seleucia to accept the king's nomination and formally to elect the new Catholicos, but Joseph after his election adjourned the clerics, claiming that the circumstances were unfavourable for a Synod. In 553 he again postponed the assembly. We can only conjecture about the true reasons for these postponements, but the fact that the canons later passed by the Synod of 554

⁴ On Joseph, see *Chr de Sëert*, PO 7, XXXII, pp 176-81.

(SO, pp 355-65) refer to outside (non-Christian) influence in Church affairs (canons 1, 4, and 9), suggests that the Catholicos at first was uncertain about the method of dealing with this problem.

We do not know whether Joseph had any reliable information about what was going on in Constantinople in 553. If he had, he would be aware that in that year a General Council (the Fifth) of the Western Church was held in the Byzantine capital, and that it condemned, on the insistence of the emperor Justinian (who was anxious to conciliate the Monophysites in his empire), the Three Chapters (see ch 3, sect 9). As one of these Chapters was "the person and works of Theodore of Mopsuestia," and as canon 40 of Mar Aba's Synod, as we have earlier noted, committed the Persian Church to the acceptance of the teaching of Theodore, it would appear that as long as both parties adhered to their stated positions, there was little likelihood of a genuine fraternity between the Byzantine Christians and the Nestorian Christians in Persia.

The long awaited Synod was finally called to meet in Seleucia in January 554 (SO, pp 352-67). It commenced its work by making a solemn profession of the orthodox faith; this was patently directed against the Monophysites. It next proceeded to draw up twenty-three canons, most of which are referred to in what follows.

1. On priests remaining in their own parishes; on clerics using the influence of non-Christian laity to improve their position in the Church.
3. On bishops who, with non-Christian support, make ordinations outside of their own dioceses.
4. On improper procedure in the election of a bishop.
5. A reference to the 15th canon Nicaea regarding a bishop who leaves his see for another one.
6. Bishops must obey what their fellow bishops prescribe in their assembly.
7. The metropolitan bishops and the Catholicos ought to act with the advice of the episcopal community. If there is something urgent and there is no time to call everyone, at least three bishops should be consulted.
8. Priests and the superiors of convents must not abandon their places of residence and go somewhere else, without the consent of their bishop.
9. On priests guilty of iniquities (not described) and accused of the same both by Church people and by outsiders.
10. On priests, deacons and clerks who have taken pagan wives; the danger of Magian punishment in such a situation; sacerdotal rights cannot be exercised by these men.
11. The property of churches and monasteries can be disposed of only with the consent of the communities concerned.
12. On clergy and laity who, because of their faults, have been deprived of their sacerdotal functions or of the right to receive the sacrament.
13. On the behaviour of laity in the Synods of the Church.

14. What is to be done in the event of the death of the Catholicos amid troubled times, and how his successor is to be chosen.

15. The Catholicos ought not to take the title Patriarch until he receives the imposition of hands by the metropolitans; a metropolitan bishop ought not to be entitled metropolitan until he has been instituted by the Patriarch.

16. Each bishop is subject to the metropolitan and the bishops of the province in which he works.

17. On a layman or cleric who commits fornication.

18. On the situation in which the establishment of a new episcopal see is felt to be desirable.

20. The sacrament is to be given in new churches and monasteries only with the consent of the bishop, and only on certain days of the week. The rest of the time communion is to be available only in the principal (i.e., the old) church.

21. When the Patriarch dies, the bishop of Kashkar shall convoke a Synod in the capital to choose his successor. We should note that the part which the reigning Persian king in fact has in the choice of a new Catholicos is ignored (cf also canon 14 above).

22. The canons of Mar Aba are to be carefully observed.

23. On appeals against censure or interdiction.

The record is signed by Mar Joseph, four metropolitans⁵ and thirteen bishops. Others (one metropolitan and sixteen bishops) approved of the proceedings by letter. The metropolitans of Beth Garmai and Pherat of Maishan were late in arriving but they have also approved.

The last recorded act of the Synod (SO, p 367) was to rank the metropolitans in the following order:

- Beth Huzaye (Khuzistan)
- Nisibis
- Pherat of Maishan
- Hedayab (Adiabene)
- Beth Garmai
- Rew Ardashir
- Merw.

We do not know in what ways the threat of further hostilities between Persia and Constantinople affected the Persian Church in Joseph's time. As we have earlier seen, the war between the two empires had been renewed by Khusro I in 540, and it was only after three truces had expired that peace was finally agreed upon in 562. Our information about the peace negotiations comes from Menander Protector. After giving us the various

⁵ One of these is the metropolitan of Maḥoze-Ḥedata, whose name is QLDYN', which may be a Syriac form of Claudius or Claudianus. Possibly this individual or his father was originally a prisoner of war from Syria. The reference to Maḥoze-Ḥedata as a metropolitan see is strange, for the capital of the ecclesiastical province of Fars (Persis) was Rew-Ardashir.

clauses of the truce (which was to last for fifty years), we read in P. N. Ure's translation:

When all had been decided and put into force, separate consideration was given to the question of Christians in Persia, and it was agreed that they should build churches and hold services freely. . . . The Christians . . . agreed that they would by no means venture to convert Magians to our belief. And it was further enacted that in the matter of the dead, the Christians should have permission to bury them in graves as is customary among us.⁶

We can only speculate about the person or persons in the Byzantine delegation who brought up the question of Christians in Persia. While it is improbable that the Catholicos was involved in any way in the peace conference, we can well imagine that when he learned what had been agreed upon with respect to Christians in Persia, he made it widely known in the Christian community. He may, however, not have been entirely happy about the Church giving up its right to proselytize Zoroastrians.

Joseph turned out to be a very despotic Catholicos. He refused to hear the complaints of the bishops, and he was accused of theft, blasphemy and sacrilege. Finally a delegation of Christian notables headed by one, Moses (or Narseh), a medical doctor of Nisibis, took the matter to Khusro, who consented to the deposition of the Catholicos, although the date of this is uncertain (probably between 564 and 567). Joseph died two years after his removal from office.

4. The Synod of Mar Ezekiel (576).

We do not know why at least three years elapsed after the deposition of Joseph before Ezekiel, with the approval of Khusro, became Catholicos. During this interval, Mari, bishop of Kashkar, directed the affairs of the Church. Regarding Ezekiel's earlier life, one source relates that he had been a baker of Mar Aba, then he became his disciple, and under his tutelage he had entered the priesthood and was eventually made bishop of Zabe. This appointment must have occurred after 544, for in the latter year Mihrnarseh was bishop of Zabe. In 572, about three years after his accession, Ezekiel accompanied Khusro as far as Nisibis, which was then being besieged by the Byzantines under Justin II. Khusro relieved the city, and Ezekiel, it appears, then returned to Seleucia. Ezekiel's Catholicate witnessed the death of Khusro I in 579 and the accession of Hormizd IV, the latter proving to be friendly to the Christians. The Catholicos during his term of office had two unhappy conditions to face. The first affected all the people of Persia, Christian and non-Christian, viz., the plague which once more and for about ten years desolated the population, and which called forth special prayers in the churches, one such being "the rogation (or petition) of the Ninevites,"

⁶ P. N. Ure, *Justinian and His Age*, Harmondsworth, 1951, p 99.

a three-day fast, three weeks before Lent, which is still observed in the Nestorian Church. The second reason for Ezekiel's anxiety was undoubtedly the growth of the Monophysites. Jacob Baradaeus, of whom we have spoken earlier (ch 5, sect 10), died in Ezekiel's time (578), but not before he had revitalized Monophysitism in the Byzantine world, and this was to stimulate somewhat indirectly the Monophysites within Persia. Ezekiel, who is said to have been very despotic, became blind in his last years and died in 581.

The only Synod which Ezekiel held met in February 576, six years after his accession (SO, pp 368-89). It was attended by three metropolitans and twenty-seven bishops, while four other bishops who were not present indicated their approval of what was done. The preamble to the Synod's canons refers to the schisms, troubles, and quarrels in the Church, most of which, thanks to Ezekiel, are now over (this seems unduly optimistic). It then proceeds with an outline of the true Christian faith, and concludes with a condemnation of Mani, Marcion, Bardaisan and other heretics. The main body of the proceedings is taken up with the thirty-nine canons which were adopted. These are summarized below.

1. The Messalians ("praying ones," a pietistic sect with heretical views, who originated in the Syriac Church in the fourth century) are condemned, and provision is made for those of them who repent.⁷
4. On Christian behaviour in a bereavement.
5. On those who have rebelled against Church discipline and now wish to return to the Church.
6. On those under an interdict, and those who allege that they have been interdicted unjustly.
7. On illegitimate marriages.
8. On those, whether clergy or laity, who ravish the wives of other men.
9. On household servants compelled by their master or mistress to engage in fornication.
10. On gifts offered to churches or convents by prostitutes.
11. On gifts bequeathed by Christians to a church, convent or hospice, or to the poor, or to some particular person, and regarding slaves who either are to be given their liberty, or are to be allotted to churches, convents, etc; if these bequests are not faithfully carried out by the heirs of the deceased, the heirs are to be censured and anathematized until they execute the provisions of the will.
12. On slaves who can be received into the clergy only if they are properly manumitted by their masters.
13. On the maintenance of the proper orders within the Church, and the recognition of the rights of each order—bishops, metropolitans, and Patriarch.

⁷ On this sect in the Greek Church, see Theodoret, *Ecc. Hist.* IV. xi; in the Syriac Church, see *Bk of Gov.* 2, pp 91-92, note 3. On the whole movement, see A. Vööbus, *HASO* II, pp 127-39.

14. Since the Patriarch is "the father of the principality," and all in ecclesiastical authority receive their power from him, it is fitting that his name be proclaimed when the liturgy is recited in all the churches.

15. Every four years there is to be a Synod before Lent. When the Patriarch calls this meeting, all concerned will come promptly. Those who fail to do so will be censured.

16. The bishops of a province are to assemble under their metropolitan once a year in September. Absentees will be censured.

17. On the importance of metropolitans, bishops and priests living blameless lives, free from all jealousy, hatred, anger and enmity.

18. and 19. On the ordination of a bishop.

20. Priesthood cannot be procured from a metropolitan or bishop either by gifts or by money.

21. Priests must not accept gifts.

22. No metropolitan or bishop can perform an ordination in, or give an order relative to the administration of, the diocese of a colleague, without the consent of the Patriarch.

23. What is to be done when a metropolitan or a bishop dies. Evidently lay people are to have a voice in the choice of the new appointee.

26. The records of goods bought for churches, monasteries and hospices must be kept in the archives of the church.

27. Gifts and tithes for churches, monasteries and hospices are to be under the jurisdiction of the bishop and are to be administered according to his order.

28. A somewhat obscure canon. The meaning seems to be that an ordinand must meet the usual conditions for ordination.

29. On property belonging to churches and monasteries, which clergy and laymen ought to know about, so that in the event of the death of the bishop, ecclesiastical property can be identified and separated from the private property of the bishop. The latter may leave his own property to whomsoever he wishes.

30. Bishops should not give church property to their families, but should use it for the maintenance of the clergy, the poor, and the pilgrims.

31. Complaints against a bishop or other cleric should be made known to the metropolitan, and if this does not resolve the matter, it should be brought before the Patriarch.

33. On factions who, on the death of a bishop, attempt to advance the claim of someone to the succession, when in fact he is unworthy of the office.

34. On certain men who for lack of education or because of their unworthiness, have not been admitted to clerical orders, and who have sought help from the laity or from pagans.

35. If a monastery is built, some revenues must be assigned by the builder for its maintenance before it is consecrated. Apart from the

housekeeping requirements, everything connected with a monastery is under the jurisdiction of the bishop.

36. Clergy are not to act as attorneys or stewards for the laity or for pagans.

37. Christians are not to allow their daughters to study pagan music.

38. Priests who live in the town or city where the bishop resides, have precedence over those who live in the country districts of the diocese.

39. This rather obscure canon appears to establish an order of precedence in the hierarchy, so that all the first places in the Synod are not occupied by bishops of the province of which the Patriarch, as a metropolitan bishop, is the head.

5. The Synod of Mar Jesusyab I (585).

Jesyab was from Beth 'Arbaye and had studied at the School of Nisibis under Abraham its director. He was subsequently made bishop of Arzon, and is reported, while in this see, to have supplied the Persian king Hormizd IV (579-90) with intelligence reports on Byzantine troop movements in the border area. As Hormizd showed himself very tolerant in religious matters and well-disposed to his Christian subjects (thus incurring the ill will of the Magi), he had no reason to oppose the Church's election in 582 of Jesusyab as the new Catholicos, and in fact some suspect that he himself may have nominated the bishop of Arzon to the Patriarchate. Whether, as some traditions have it, the Catholicos was sent by Hormizd as an envoy to the emperor Maurice (582-602) is doubtful.

The Catholicos had serious troubles to contend with in the Christian community, particularly with the claims of the Monophysites and with the views of Henana, the celebrated teacher at Nisibis. But he also had the political situation within Persia to face. He lost a good friend when Hormizd was dethroned in 590 and later killed, but his efforts to keep the Church out of the ensuing struggle for power did the Catholicos very little good. The general, Varahran Chobin, who had hoped to succeed Hormizd, had at first some success, but the aristocracy who had rid themselves of the king, thought it best to proclaim his son, Khusro II, as his successor. But the new king had limited military resources, and in desperation he fled to Circesium and from there he sought assistance from Maurice of Constantinople. The Byzantine emperor espoused Khusro's cause and placed some forces at his disposal. Maurice's actions may not have been entirely disinterested for he may have hoped, by interference of this sort, to weaken the Persian kingdom. In any event the Byzantine support made it possible for Khusro to assert himself as the legitimate heir to the Persian throne. In all these political developments the Catholicos tried to maintain an impartial position, and he therefore offered no help to Khusro in initiating the negotiations with Maurice. Khusro, perhaps naturally, resented the studied neutrality of

the Catholicos, and the latter, sensing that trouble was in store for him, went to Hira whose Arab prince, Nu'man, had recently received Christian baptism. It was while he was in Hira that Mar Jesusyahb took ill and died in 594/5.

It was not until 585 that Mar Jesusyahb summoned his first Synod (SO, pp 390–455). It set itself two tasks, to define the true faith, and to produce canons for the guidance of the Church.

The first canon is, in effect, the desiderated profession of faith (SO, pp 393–98). It offers an exposition of the Creed of Constantinople,⁸ with some slight changes in the Creed's text. Chabot says that it is "the most explicit (exposition of this Creed) preserved in Nestorian documents" (SO, p 393, note 5).

What follows is a summary of canons 2–31.

2. A defense of the books and doctrines of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Those who are opposed to Theodore are to be excommunicated.

3. On the advantages of laws for mankind, and particularly those found in the Scriptures.

4. On the honour due from disciples and children to teachers and parents.

5. The conduct of the clergy of the Church should correspond to the sublimity of their ministry.

6. On the stealing by clerics and laity of property belonging to churches, monasteries, hospices and episcopal residences, and the means to be taken to cope with this evil.

7. On heirs who violate the stated wishes of the deceased with respect to what is to be given to churches, convents, hospices, schools or episcopal residences, or with respect to the manumission of slaves.

8. Those who are clothed in a religious habit, and wish to practise chastity and poverty, should live in their parents' home, or with clergy in a church, or with monks in a monastery. If they propose to study outside their diocese, they should have a letter of recommendation from their bishop. This canon may have the Messalians especially in view. It is further stated that such a person is not permitted to walk about with a woman, or live with her in a monastery or cell. The rule is that women must not cohabit with men in a monastery for men, nor men in a convent for women, though emergency visits of no longer than a day (or a night) are provided for.

9. It is not permitted to religious women to live in isolation; on the contrary, at least four or five of them should live in a convent. Like all Christians they should not forsake the church assemblies on Sundays or on the feasts.

⁸ Properly the Nicaeno-Constantinopolitan Creed. For the Greek text, see SO, p 394, note 3, and for ET of the Greek, see A. C. McGiffert, *A History of Christian Thought*, 1, New York, 1932, p 273.

10. On churches and monasteries which have been allowed to fall into ruin, and which should be rebuilt.

12. On avoiding ostentatiousness in giving offerings to churches and convents; it is prescribed that donations and alms should first be given to local churches, and afterwards, if the donors so desire, to churches or convents in other places.

15–16. Neither ordinary Christians nor those in the ministry should take interest on loans.

17–18. On those who have been interdicted and anathematized.

19. On the functions and responsibilities of an archdeacon.

20. One suitable person is to be designated, with the consent of the bishop, to administer the business affairs of each church, monastery and hospice.

21. On uncharitable conduct by Christians, especially when directed against their chiefs (the clergy?).

22. Bishops must ensure, preferably through a trustworthy layman, that property left to orphans is properly administered until the children come of age.

23. The clergy are not to become involved as voluntary advocates in legal matters that do not concern them nor have relations with a woman repudiated by her husband.

24. A wife has a right to her dowry after her husband's death, even though this is not mentioned in his will.

25. Christians are not to participate in the festivals of Jews, heretics or pagans, nor accept anything sent to them from these festivals.

27. Marriages between Nestorians and heretical Christians are forbidden unless the former are allowed to practise their own faith. The altars of the orthodox must not be used by heretics, nor must the orthodox receive from them either consecrated bread or gifts.

29. On the ecclesiastical hierarchy; the procedure to be observed in the election of a Patriarch; the rules to be observed in imposing an interdict or an anathema. It is assumed that there are four Patriarchs in the Western Church, and one in the Orient.

30. Synods called by a metropolitan or by the Patriarch must be attended by those concerned. In the present instance (Synod of 585), Simeon the metropolitan of Nisibis, and Gregory, the metropolitan of Rew-Ardashir, who have not appeared, will be interdicted unless they come in penitence to the Patriarch within this year.

31. Each one present at the Synod is to have a copy of these canons and is to read them once a year in the assembly of his diocese.

The proceedings of the Synod are signed by the Catholicos, two metropolitans (three others by proxy), and twenty bishops (two others by proxy). Five others, including one metropolitan, have given their concurrence in writing.

The record of the Synod includes at the end two extraneous documents. The first comprises some canons which Mar Jesusyabhb drew up for James, bishop of the Isle of Darai, in reply to various questions (SO, pp 424-51). What is stated constitutes the teaching of the Patriarch, as a master to a disciple, and is not to be considered as the decrees of the Synod.

On how a priest should commence his duties at the altar;

When should the priest who celebrates take communion?

On giving communion to a priest;

on quarrels within a church;

on secret sins;

on a priest anathematizing himself;

on taking an oath;

on taking interest or usury;

on how the goods of an intestate Christian should be dealt with;

on the non-fulfilment of vows and promises of gifts to local churches and monasteries;

on a priest ceding his rank in the hierarchy to an inferior;

on an allegorical treatment of the parable of the talents in Matt 25:14-30

(it is found to refer to deacons, priests and bishops);

on the Lord's Day (the first day of the week);

on taking a sterile wife.

The second of these documents is a statement of the orthodox faith composed by Mar Jesusyabhb (SO, pp 451-55). It is essentially an elaboration and defense of the doctrine of the Trinity, with passing references to various heretics, including Eutyches, Apollinarius, Photinus, Paul of Samosata, and Severus of Antioch.

It will be noticed from the Synod's canons, particularly those numbered 7, 22 and 24, that some matters falling within the purview of what westerners call "civil law" are seemingly under the control of the Church. This suggests that by the sixth century the Christians in Persia, like the Babylonian Jews, had become in some respects an independent community, responsible for their own interior discipline. In matters related to "criminal law," Persian law doubtless continued to be the only operative law.

6. The Synod of Mar Sabarjesus I (596).

Sabarjesus was originally from Perozabad in Beth Garmai. He became a monk and then studied at Nisibis under Abraham the director. His earlier ascetic practices were continued and intensified after leaving the School, and he also carried on proselytizing very actively, but in Beth Garmai this resulted in the opposition of the Magi and in his temporary internment in Karka of Beth Selok. On the death of Saba, bishop of Lashom (a signatory of Mar Ezekiel's Synod of 576), Sabarjesus, despite his protests, was elevated to his see. He continued his ascetic way of life and was widely regarded as an

exemplary saint. Apparently it was the order of Khusro II which made him the successor of Jesusyabhb I in 596 (after a vacancy of 1-2 years), and it was in this year that he held a Synod. When Khusro renewed the war with Constantinople in 604, the Catholicos accompanied the Persian army. But age and infirmities obliged him to return to Nisibis, where he died in the summer of 604, while Dara was being besieged by the Persians. His body was buried in Beth Garmai in the convent of which he had earlier been a member.

The record of the Synod of 596 (SO, pp 456-61) does not bear the signatures of those present, although the Catholicos and some unnamed metropolitans and bishops are referred to in the text. The first topic dealt with is various heretical views, such as those which affirm that it is in the nature of man to sin (which may be a form of Pelagianism), or that man was created immortal, or that the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia should be rejected. This leads to the Synod's reaffirmation of the faith as set forth by the Council of Nicea. Various unacceptable opinions are castigated such as are held by pagans and Jews, and by those who deny that both divinity and humanity were found in Christ. The views of Theodore of Mopsuestia are again cited as the paragon of orthodoxy (this in contrast with the teaching of Henana of the School of Nisibis, although the latter's name is not mentioned).

Two practical issues are next dealt with. One relates to friars and sisters who live close to one another, whose conduct is reprehensible and who need instruction and correction. The other concerns the liturgy. Some clerics have disregarded canonical usage and have instituted unwarranted changes in the liturgy, two of which are cited. If those responsible for these alterations do not correct this situation, both they and those who tolerate the changes will be forbidden to share in the sacramental life of the Church.

A copy of the Synod's recorded actions is to be sent to the absent metropolitans and bishops. If any one of them opposes the decisions taken or the views expressed, he will be anathematized until he accepts them.

The record of the Synod has two documents appended to it (SO, pp 461-70), neither of which appears to be directly related to the proceedings of the Synod. That they have been included here may reflect the continuing interest of the Catholicos in the ascetic life. The first, dated in 598, is a pact and convention, and concerns the monks of three monasteries, the New Monastery, the monastery of Bar Qaiṭi, and a third unnamed one nearby. All three are located in the mountains around Singar. After a somewhat long theological premise, it is agreed that we (presumably the monks concerned) should apply ourselves to prayer (i.e., to the various offices of the liturgy) and to fasting. We should not go outside of our convents or cells, except of necessity and only with the permission of the superior, by whom also we are authorized to go into the villages. On Sundays and fast days we assemble together in the convent for the liturgy and the public reading of the Scriptures, after which we return to our cells

or our monasteries. Those who will not conform to these arrangements are to be appropriately punished. The document is signed by four bishops located in Beth Garmai.

The second of these supplementary documents (SO, pp 465–70) is a letter from the Catholicos addressed to the superiors of the convents mentioned in the aforementioned pact. The Patriarch has learned of troubles in the monasteries, but these have not diminished his recognition of the benefits of the monastic life. However, the latter must be lived in obedience to the superior, and this some of the brothers have not been doing. There is possibly here an oblique reference to Messalian influences among the monks. Furthermore, the three monasteries in question are under the jurisdiction of the Catholicos, and must not be interfered with either by a metropolitan or by neighbouring bishops.

7. The Synod of Mar Gregory I (605).

Gregory I^a was from Pherat and he had become a teacher of the Scriptures in the School at Seleucia. After Sabarjesus I died in 604, Khusro II ordered the bishops to come to the capital to choose his successor, and the record states that those who had to travel from distant places were to come by the royal post at the expense of the king. Once they were assembled, the king indicated to the bishops both the sort of a person the Catholicos should be and the one he wished to be chosen. If the bishops had another name in mind, such as Gregory of Kashkar, bishop of Nisibis, they felt obliged to elect the king's nominee, Mar Gregory of Pherat. It is thought by some that Monophysite sympathizers, such as Queen Shirin and Gabriel, the court physician, had urged Khusro to favour Gregory from Pherat.

After his election the new Catholicos addressed the assembly. The account of the latter's decisions (SO, pp 471–79) does not follow the pattern of presenting to the Church a series of canons. To begin with, Mar Gregory reaffirmed the Church's adhesion to the Councils of Nicaea and Constantinople, and reiterated the view (against the Monophysite position) that the two natures of Christ, the human and the divine, are united in one person. The Catholicos noted the existence in the Church of certain schismatic ideas, often due to a perversion of the true sense of the Scripture. As a sure guide to the latter, the faithful turn to the commentaries and other writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Anyone not recognizing the authority of Theodore, or calumniating him, is to be anathematized.

Clergy and sisters, unattached to ecclesiastical institutions, and moving about in the villages, often cause problems. All such clerics should be in a church, convent, school, or an isolated congregation of monks. An unmarried woman, not employed in the local church, should belong to a convent of

^a CF *Bk of Gov.* 2, 1, xxv, pp 85–88.

sisters. But attachment to a monastery does not solve all the Church's difficulties, for it is noted that often monks attack or reject the canons of the Church, and neglect certain "proclamations" in the liturgy.

The local bishop is required to take appropriate action in cases where the custodians of gifts, intended by the donors for the maintenance of monasteries, have diverted some or all of these donations to their own use.

The last matter brought before the Synod relates to bishops who disobey the canons and ordain priests improperly.

The proceedings are signed by the Patriarch, three metropolitans, and twenty-six bishops.

Mar Gregory I did not live up to his earlier promise, and the king seems to have lost confidence in him. He proved to be a very avaricious person, and when he died 608/9, the crown confiscated his personal wealth. More tragic for the Church at this particular time, Khusro opposed the election of a successor, and for the next twenty years, until 628, the Nestorians had no Catholicos.

As the Synod of 605 is the last of Nestorian Synods to be considered in the present volume (the next one in the *Synodicon Orientale* is that of Mar George in 676), we note below the geographical distribution of some of the sees whose incumbents signed the Synod record of 605. This will suggest the extent of the Nestorian Church on the eve of the Muslim era.

Three metropolitan sees are named: Maishan (Mesene), Lower Babylonia; Adiabene, east of the Tigris and north of the Little Zab river; Beth Garmai, east of the Tigris, and between the Little Zab and the Diyala rivers. No metropolitan is mentioned for Beth Huzaye (Khuzistan), although bishops sign from Karka of Ledan (north of Susa), Hormizd-Ardashir (modern Ahwaz on the Karun river), Shushtar, and Shush (modern Sous or Susa). Nor is there a metropolitan named for Beth 'Arbaye, northern Mesopotamia between Mosul, the Tigris, and the Khabur river. Bishops appear for Holwan (cf *hlh* in II Kgs 17:6) and Beth Madaye, both of which may designate sees in Media. To the north-west of Media is Azerbaijan (east of lake Urmia), which also has a bishop, as does Qardu (Syr *qrdw*), the country of the Kurds. Although the location of some sees is unknown (Syr *brhys*, *thl*), it is noteworthy that unlike the situation reflected in the signatories of the proceedings of the Synod of 424 (SO, p 285), there are no bishops from Merv, Herat, Segestan, Abrashahr, Rai, Ispahan, or Istakhr. Whether this means that in the early seventh century the Nestorian cause had declined or even disappeared in central and eastern Iran is not clear.

8. Monophysitism.

While Persian Monophysitism took a beating from Baršauma, it had sufficient resilience to weather the storm. When Papa returned from Edessa and became bishop of Beth Lapaṭ, he proved to be a strong protagonist of Monophysitism, although he turned up at the Synod of Acacius in 486 and

signed its record. It was apparently immediately after this that he was deposed from his see. The Synod of Babai (497) left open the possibility of the anathema against him being lifted. This Synod also dealt with Yazdad, bishop of Rewardashir, who had shown the same predilection for Monophysitism; he too must adhere to the orthodox faith or be deposed. This active opposition to Monophysitism by the Nestorians is further illustrated by the plea of the Persian delegates to the Monophysite council held at Dvin in eastern Armenia in 506. They brought tales of oppression at the hands of the Chalcedonians, and asked for help from their co-religionists.¹⁰

In the late fifth century, Simeon of Beth Arsham,¹¹ who may have been orthodox to begin with but who presently adopted Monophysitism, became one of the best known apostles of the Monophysite cause in Persia. We know little of his personal life except that he spent his early life at Hira, which suggests that he was a native of that region. Some locate Beth Arsham near Seleucia. He subsequently travelled widely in Persia and engaged so effectively in disputes with Nestorians, Marcionites, Manichees and others, that he came to be known as "the Persian disputant." One of these debates was held in Persian Armenia, at which the Catholicos Babai (497-502/3) was present (there were five Monophysite bishops on hand).¹² Simeon was present as a priest at the Monophysite conference in Armenia in 506. It was subsequent to this that c 510 he was made an itinerant bishop for the Monophysite cause. He is reported to have taken part in a theological debate between 518 and 523 at Hira, when the Nestorian position was defended by Shila the Nestorian Patriarch.¹³ As we have earlier noted (ch 9, sect 7), the suspicion that the Monophysites were friends of Constantinople sometimes landed them in trouble. Simeon himself is said to have been imprisoned for seven years, being released only by the intervention of an Ethiopian delegation then visiting the Persian court. He made three visits to Constantinople, the last to get such support for the Monophysite cause as he could from the empress Theodora. He died in the Byzantine capital c 533.

The policy of the emperor Justin I (518-27) of suppressing Monophysitism in the Byzantine world, which doubtless sent some exiles and Monophysite sympathizers to north-west Persia, may have been a factor in the growth of Monophysitism in the Persian Church. A contemporary of Simeon of Beth Arsham was John, bishop of Tella. While most of his missionary work for Monophysitism was done within Roman Syria, he seems to have stimulated the Monophysite cause in north-west Persia, particularly in Adiabene. He died in 538 after a year's imprisonment near Antioch.

¹⁰ Frend, p 313; Fiey, *Jalons*, pp 123-25.

¹¹ See *Chr de Michel* 2, IX. ix, pp 165-67; Fiey, *Jalons*, p 120.

¹² *Chr de Michel* 2, p 166; Fiey, *Jalons*, p 120.

¹³ Fiey, *Jalons*, p 122.

Further invigoration of the Monophysite party in Persia came as a by-product of the work of Jacob Baradaeus in the Byzantine West (see ch 5, sect 10). In Jacob's time one, Ahudemme,¹⁴ born at Balad in Beth 'Arbaye, was the Nestorian bishop of Nineveh, and as such had signed the record of the Synod of Mar Joseph in 554. Evidently soon after this he was won over to the Monophysite camp, but we know nothing of the circumstances of this conversion. Five years later, in 559, Jacob Baradaeus made him Monophysite bishop of Beth 'Arbaye and metropolitan bishop of the Orient. Fiey notes that in another source, Ahudemme was made bishop of Beth 'Arbaye c 540 by the Armenian Catholicos Christopher (*Jalons*, p 128). His see was evidently Tagrit, though Fiey doubts this (*Jalons*, p 131). He became specially active in proselytizing the semi-nomadic Arab tribes in northern Mesopotamia, and he even won some of them over to the ascetic life. John of Ephesus records (*Eccl Hist* 1. vi. 20, pp 417-20) that Khuro I (531-79), who is credited with a personal interest in religious matters, arranged in response to accusations (unspecified) directed against the Monophysites by the Nestorians, to have the two Christian parties confront one another in his presence. Ahudemme was the chief Monophysite spokesman on this occasion. The Persian king was so favourably impressed with the presentation by the Monophysites that he ordered the Nestorians henceforth to leave them alone to build such churches and monasteries as they pleased. Ahudemme's stature in the Monophysite community was considerably heightened by this confrontation, but whether, as John of Ephesus claims, he was made Monophysite Catholicos as a result of it seems uncertain. Ahudemme, like Jacob Baradaeus, was a tireless worker for Monophysitism, but his zeal was ultimately his undoing. In 573 he converted a son of the royal family to Christianity, an action which brought about his imprisonment in that year, and his death two years later. The progress of Monophysitism is illustrated by the fact that its adherents had a church in Seleucia before 575 and a "new church" there in 580. Yet, oddly enough, in Ezekiel's Synod of 576, while other dangerous movements in the Church are condemned, no mention is made of the Monophysites. It is presumably a sign of the times that nine years later, in 585, the second canon of Jesusyab's Synod, held in that year, defends the teaching of Theodore of Mopsuestia and anathematizes all those opposed to it.

Qamjesus, priest of the Jacobite church in Seleucia, was not appointed as Ahudemme's successor until 579, and under him Tagrit continued to be a strong Monophysite centre. The next holder of this position as *de facto* head of the Persian Monophysites was Samuel whose dates are 614-24. Another very active place in the life of Persian Monophysitism was the great monastery of Mar Mattai, north-east of Mosul.

¹⁴ See F. Nau, *Histoire de Mar Ahoudemme*, PO 3, pp 7-51.

A figure of considerable importance now looms up in the Monophysite community, viz Marutha,¹⁵ who was born c 565 in a village near Balad, north of Mosul. His Monophysite parents were concerned with their son's studies and directed him to the facilities available in the monasteries of Mar Samuel and of Nardas; his sojourn in the latter convent evidently qualified him to be an interpreter of the Scriptures. In the period of peace between Persia and Constantinople (after 593), Marutha went to the Byzantine world where he spent about ten years, 593-603, mostly in a monastery near Callinicus, and latterly in the cells around Edessa and then in the monastery of Beth Reqoum. The outbreak of war between Byzantium and Persia made it prudent for him to return to his homeland. While in Beth Reqoum he had refused to become a Monophysite bishop, and now in 605 he came to the monastery of Mar Mattai where he taught for about ten years. In addition he did considerable missionary work all along the Tigris valley. Taking a cue from the Nestorians he was also active in establishing schools for the young. Later he transferred his teaching activity to a monastery in the capital founded by Queen Shirin. It was at this time that he again refused to be named a bishop. The queen was a Monophysite, and her protection, as well as the influence of a court physician, Gabriel, a Monophysite from Singar, were a great boon to the Monophysite cause at this juncture.

But the war with Byzantium was changing Khusro's attitude to Christianity, and both Nestorians and Monophysites now realized that they were out of the king's favour. Furthermore the death of doctor Gabriel deprived the Monophysites of a powerful friend. Marutha found it expedient to remove himself from public view and he retired to a suitable spot near 'Aqula (west of the Euphrates and south of later Baghdad), and he remained here until the death of Khusro in 628.

Although Monophysitism never dominated the Church in Persia down to the mid-seventh century, its adherents were sufficiently numerous to constitute a serious and persistent threat to the Nestorian community. We can infer this from the statements of faith found in the records of the Nestorian Synods. The Synods of 554, 585, 596 and 605 all have theological affirmations that are obviously intended to counter the views of the Monophysites (SO, pp 355, 393-98, 457-59, 473-75).

¹⁵ See F. Nau, *Histoire de Marouta*, PO 3, pp 52-96.

Chapter 11. The Seventh Century to 643 A.D.

1. The Later Years of the School of Nisibis.

The third director of the School of Nisibis was Abraham of Beth Rabban, who may have been a nephew of Narseh the first director. He took office sometime after 510, and remained at the School probably until c 569. He was a very successful teacher as well as an extensive writer on the OT, though none of his writings has come down to us. He was also renowned for his asceticism. Under the early years of his leadership the School grew immensely, one source reporting that the number of students exceeded one thousand. This necessitated a considerable expansion of the School's physical facilities, which included the building for the first time of a hospice. Abraham also improved the lot of the teachers, buying a farm for the School and arranging that its income should be used for stipends for the staff.

It is curious that the era of Abraham's directorship, which at first witnessed an expansion in the School, also displayed in its later years a sharp decline in the institution's life and strength. The nature of the problem which beset the School is not perfectly clear, although the personality of the director may have had something to do with it. Moves within the Western Church to heal its divisions, as for instance the emperor Justinian's conference of 532 in which Greek orthodox and Monophysites participated, and at which Paul a teacher at Nisibis was present, do not seem to have been favourably looked upon by Abraham, an attitude which doubtless increased tension within the School. But the most serious blow to the School was an external one. In the sixth century Khusro I authorized a fresh persecution of Christians. This involved, among other measures, the exile of the Catholicos, Mar Aba, to Azerbaijan, and the closing of the School of Nisibis for two years, 540-41. The School was reopened c 542, but in some respects it was never quite the same again. Its student body had dispersed, some going to the School at Seleucia. What happened to Abraham the director at this time of crisis we do not know, but it is usually assumed that he remained in office until c 569.

A new, and in some respects a more tragic, epoch in the School's life is associated with Henana of Adiabene, who after a period as one of the teachers, became director c 570-71. He brought to this office his great gifts as an instructor, especially in the exegesis of the Scriptures, and it is said that in his time, the number of students in the School once more greatly

increased, rising to eight hundred. Partly due to this influx, the rules of the School, now almost a hundred years old, were revised in 590 and ratified in 602.¹ The following matters were important enough to find mention in the revised canons: the duties of the curator of the hospice (apparently there had been dissatisfaction with one curator); compulsory residence in the School for students if accommodation is available; the study habits of students; the safeguarding of books in the library; the appearance of students' dress and hair; participation by students in the social activities of the town; begging from townspeople; relations with women; the teaching of boys in the town; attendance at vigils; the sheltering of war captives or fugitive slaves. The reference to a body of students studying medicine leaves many questions unanswered, although it is clear that theological and medical students were kept apart (canons 19 and 20).

Henana, however, was a controversial figure, and he was inevitably drawn into theological disputations. In particular he became impatient with the School's traditional espousal of Theodore of Mopsuestia, and he made clear his own strong preference for John Chrysostom, and for an allegorical approach to the Scriptures such as Origen had sponsored. Further, his theological understanding of the person of Christ was considered to be dangerously near, if not identical with, that of the Monophysites. All who were concerned with the welfare of the Nestorian Church were naturally disturbed by Henana's views. One of the first expressions of this discontent was the founding by one, Elisha, of another School, Beth Sahde, in or near Nisibis as a rival to the one directed by Henana. Elijah, metropolitan bishop of Nisibis, gave his blessing to this new foundation, and Abimelek, head of a School in Balad, was named its director.

The next phase in Henana's directorship leads to his repudiation by the Nestorian Church. The Catholicos, Jesusyab I, had his work condemned in 585, and a Synod convened by the Catholicos Sabarjesus I in 596, condemned and anathematized all who reject the teachings of Theodore of Mopsuestia. The same action was taken in 605 by the Synod held by Gregory I. But Henana was temporarily rescued by the Persian court, where two Monophysite physicians, Gabriel and Mar Aba, proved to be his supporters. Gregory, the Catholicos, was ordered by Khusro to leave Nisibis. But Henana was also a loser in these ecclesiastical politics, for it was clear that he had been kept in office through the influence of Monophysites in high places.

We come now to the last act in this drama centering in Henana. Since the director's opponents could not oust him from office, they decided to abandon the School. About three hundred of them, including students and most of the teachers, departed en masse from the School, and at the gate of

¹ For the text of Henana's canons, see A. Vööbus, *The Statutes of the School of Nisibis*, pp 91-102.

the city, concluded their prayers and went their several ways. This occurred shortly after Gregory the Catholicos had been ordered from the city. Some of those who thus left the School went to the monastery of Mar Abraham in Mount Izla, others to a new School in Balad, and others returned to Nisibis itself to strengthen the School of Beth Sahde. As for Henana, he was left with a few teachers and some students, one source giving the total as twenty persons. So the School carried on, but in a greatly weakened condition. Henana himself passed from the scene between 609 and 612, although his supporters lived on to vex the orthodox. Nestorians and Monophysites continued to battle in the Church, but in this struggle the School of Nisibis played only a very minor part. In truth, the School's heyday was over, both as a teaching centre and as a stimulus to scholarly writing, and from now on it was merely one of a number of educational centres of the Nestorian Church, the most important of which had now become the School at Seleucia.

2. The School of Seleucia.

Acacius of Beth Aramaye, who studied at Edessa, left that School after the death of Ibas (457), and is reported to have become a teacher in Seleucia. He was thus engaged until he became Catholicos in 485. It is probable, however, that his teaching in the capital was not done in an established institution. Anything that we can call the School of Seleucia is not firmly attested until the sixth century, when, sometime after 540, the new Patriarch, Mar Aba, is credited with founding a School in the city. In 585 one, Job, was the director of the institution and was sufficiently prominent to be a runner-up for the Catholicate at the time of the death of Ezekiel (581). A little later Gregory of Pherat taught the Scriptures at Seleucia until he became Catholicos in 605. We can infer from all this that there was a recognized Nestorian School in Seleucia, but of its history and internal arrangements we know very little. Despite the attraction which the location in the Sasanian capital must have exercised, it appears to have been a modest establishment, and as long as the School of Nisibis flourished, it remained somewhat in the latter's shadow. When, however, Nisibis declined, the School of Seleucia gained in prominence.

3. The Nestorian Church during the Reign of Khusro II (591-628).

The Christians in Persia benefitted from Khusro's friendship with the emperor Maurice, for it made the king more receptive to the view of his Christian wives, Shirin and Marie, that Christians should be tolerated. This, initially, became Khusro's policy, though the proviso that no proselytizing was to be carried out meant that converts to Christianity from Zoroastrianism, especially if they were from the upper classes, might be severely penalized. It is probably in this early part of his reign that we must place Khusro's building, probably at queen Shirin's request, of a church at

Ḥalaḥ (Ḥolwan) in honour of St. Sergius (a fourth century martyr).² It may be doubted, however, if Khusro was ever entirely free from his animus, as a Zoroastrian, to Christianity, and this feeling may have been strengthened by Mar Jesusyab I's strict neutrality both in the struggle that Khusro had in 590-91 with the usurper Varahran Chobin, and in the king's appeal to Maurice of Constantinople for assistance in regaining his throne. The king's reservations about Christians, nonetheless, did not prevent him from encouraging the Nestorians to hold a Synod in 605 to select a successor to the late Catholicos, Sabarjesus I.

Whatever benevolence Khusro had towards the Church in the early years of his reign seems to have been slowly dissipated by the renewal of hostilities with Constantinople in the spring of 604. Persia, a Zoroastrian state, was once more in confrontation with a Christian state, which meant that Christians in Persia were again in a delicate situation. When Heraclius came on the scene, and especially after his first serious campaign against Khusro began in 621, the Persian king's tolerance of Christians seems to have rapidly declined. Not only did he continue to refuse the Nestorians permission to elect a successor to Gregory I who had died 608-9, a refusal which he must have known would damage the Church³ (we may detect in this policy the influence of his Monophysite physician, Cabriel), but we now have evidence of Christians being persecuted. For instance, sometime after 605 Nathaniel, bishop of Shiarzur (a signatory of the record of the Synod of 605), drove out of town a Zoroastrian fanatic who had destroyed the local church, and when the culprit complained to Khusro, the bishop was imprisoned for six years and then put to death.⁴ At the same time one, Jesusabran of Beth Garmai, a converted Zoroastrian, was put in prison where he remained for fifteen years, at the end of which confinement he was taken to the capital with many other Christians from Beth Carmai and executed.⁵ An outstanding martyr of this period was Yazdin, a member of a wealthy Christian family from Karka of Beth Selok. He had been made receiver-general for Persia, and for some years he exercised much influence at the court, but he was also a very zealous Nestorian. During Heraclius's invasion of Persia, he fell out of favour with Khusro, and he was seized and put to death and his considerable personal fortune was confiscated.⁶ Monophysites suffered as well as Nestorians, as we know from the fact that Marutha, the distinguished Monophysite teacher in the Mar Mattai monastery and latterly in a monastery in Seleucia, had to flee to a grotto near 'Aqula where he stayed until the death of Khusro.⁷

² *Bk of Gov*, 2, 1, xxiii, pp 80-82.

³ *Bk of Gov*, 2, 1, xxvi, pp 89-90.

⁴ Labourt, p 224.

⁵ Labourt, p 234, note 1.

⁶ *Bk of Gov*, 2, 1, xxiii, note 4, p 81: xxxv, note 1, p 113.

⁷ Labourt, p 234.

In 612 there was a gathering of the Nestorian bishops of Persia at Seleucia, though the names of those present are not recorded. While some details of the assembly are obscure, it appears that its primary objective was to obtain permission from Khusro to elect a Catholicos, the Church now having been without one since 608/9.⁸ But Cabriel, the court physician, and Queen Shirin, both of whom were Monophysites, contrived to obstruct the bishops' purpose by persuading the king to demand from the clerics a confession of their faith and satisfactory answers to certain questions. The confession of faith which they produced has come down to us, with a prologue marked by unctuous servility towards the king, and an epilogue claiming that the orthodox (Nestorian) faith is the only true Christian faith in Persia.⁹ The questions, possibly phrased by Cabriel and other Monophysite leaders, concerned whether Christ had one nature and one person, whether God suffered in the flesh, whether the holy Virgin was the Mother of God or the Mother of a man, whether God is a quaternity or a trinity, and whether anyone before Nestorius taught that Christ had two natures and two persons. To each of these questions we are given the answers of the Nestorians.¹⁰ To what extent Khusro would really understand what went on in this assembly we do not know. Perhaps he was not there at all, or if he was present at the beginning, he may not have stayed to the end. His armed forces at the time were fighting in Syria, and it is possible that the king had more important things to do at this juncture than to listen to a theological disputation between Christians. In any case he made no response to what had been presented, and his policy of not sanctioning the election of a new Nestorian Catholicos remained unchanged. It was subsequent to these events that the monk George, a well-born Persian who had converted to Christianity, and who had been at the above assembly and is thought to have assisted in drawing up the confession of faith referred to above, was seized and after eight months in prison put to death. His only offence, apart from being a convert from Zoroastrian, that we know of was that he had protested the handing over by Gabriel of the cloister of St. Sergius, hitherto under Nestorian control, to the Monophysites.

Since the appointment of a Catholicos now seemed to be out of the question, the Nestorian clergy had to make such arrangements as they could for the government of the Church. Basically each metropolitan took the responsibility for his own province. For instance, in the south in the city of Seleucia, the archdeacon Mar Abba, "a man imbued with both virtue and wisdom" directed the affairs of that area. In the north, Babai of Beth 'Ainata, a monk who was abbot of the great monastery of Abraham at Izla, was made inspector of monasteries by the metropolitans of Adiabene, Nisibis

⁸ SO, pp 585-86.

⁹ SO, pp 580-85.

¹⁰ SO, pp 586-98. For a Monophysite view of this confrontation, see *Chr de Michel*, 2, IX, xxx, p 251; X, xvi, p 339.

and Karka (or Beth Garmai). Babai travelled about extensively, combatting various heretical views, and both by his presence and his writings, ensuring that the official Nestorian orthodoxy was adhered to, at least in the monasteries.¹¹

Apart from the Monophysites who offered a permanent challenge to Nestorian views, various other dissidents continued to plague the Nestorians. One of these groups was the Messalians, the subject of canon 1 of Ezekiel's Synod of 576. The same sect were probably responsible for the unrest in the monasteries in and around Singar. We have earlier noted that two documents, dated 598, attached to the record of the Synod of Sabarjesus (596) pertain to these disturbances.¹² Another troublesome party was the Henanians, followers of Henana, former head of the Nisibis School. One of their main positions was opposition to the views of Theodore of Mopsuestia. Thus in the record of the Synod of Sabarjesus we find that all those rejecting the teaching of Theodore are to be anathematized (SO, p 459).

For a little light on the concerns and problems of a Nestorian bishop in the first quarter of the seventh century, we turn to a contemporary source, the letters of Jesusyab III (later the Catholicos). Jesusyab was made bishop of Nineveh-Mosul in 620, a post which he held until 628 when he became archbishop of Hazzza (near Arbela) and Mosul. A number of letters which he wrote during his eight years as bishop have come down to us and have been published by P. Scott-Moncrieff.¹³ Some of these are summarized below, being referred to by the numbers used in the Scott-Moncrieff edition.

3. To the most holy monk, Henanjesus, written amid great difficulties (not elaborated) which have come upon the Church, so that "the root of Christianity has begun to become dry." This decline has several causes: the dearth of priests, the death of a leader (an unidentified bishop?), the negligence of the protectors (prominent laymen?) of the Church, and most of all the coming of "that Magus" (a local Zoroastrian dignitary or a veiled reference to Khusro II), the persecutor of "the fear of God," who in fact caused many to fall away from their Christian faith. The troubles of the Church are also the subject of letters 23, 36 and 41.

5. To Sabhrewai, seemingly a convert from Zoroastrianism, and apparently an answer to a letter which described the sufferings of Persian converts to Christianity.

11. To one, Paul, who had been elected head of a monastery (unnamed). The new abbot is given various bits of advice about the course of conduct he should pursue.

¹¹ *Bk of Gov* 2, I. xxvii, pp 90-92; xxix, pp 97-100. On Babai's writings, see Wright, p 168, Baumstark, pp 137-39.

¹² SO, pp 461-70.

¹³ *The Book of Consolations*, London, 1904. Other letters of Jesusyab III are edited and translated by R. Duval, CSCO, Series II, 64, 1904.

13. To the Patriarch, Mar Jesusyab II, dealing with the fact that he, the bishop of Mosul, had fled from his diocese when the war was raging between Persia and Constantinople. No details are given of the military struggle, but we know that Heraclius's successful campaigns against Persia, begun in 621, led in 627 to a sweeping Byzantine victory near Mosul. That the bishop of Mosul, supposedly of some private means and a special target in a time of political unrest, should have fled under these circumstances is not difficult to understand on purely human considerations, but as a shepherd of a Christian flock, his action could be judged reprehensible.

From the title of the letter we may infer that the bishop had been censured for abandoning his people. The main text is an attempt by him to justify his action. He says that he had stayed at his post for some time ("an example of patience"), but finally he had felt compelled to leave, and that he had written to the Catholicos (this must have been done after 628), explaining why he acted as he had. The letter ends with various flattering remarks about the Catholicos.

16. To the monks of Beth 'Abe with reference to the selection of a new abbot. The bishop strongly urges the election of one, Mar John, an old monk who had been forty years in this monastery. The letter is of interest, as is number 24, for it illustrates the efforts of bishops to control the monasteries in their dioceses. We may infer from letter 17 that the monks in this case did not follow the bishop's recommendation.

18. A long epistle to one, Yazdeshabhor, seemingly an educated Persian layman, who is addressed as a "lover of God." The bishop writes in answer to an inquiry about the duality of persons in Christ.

32. To the Patriarch (this must therefore be dated in or after 628), informing him that five letters which he sent to the writer have not been received. This illustrates the communication problem which the Church had to face.

38. To the Catholicos about two monks, Shamjesus and Narseh, who were improperly consecrated as bishops, and who compounded this evil by consecrating a virtually unknown man to the bishopric of Azerbaijan.

39. To a priest, Moses, whose locale is not stated. The bishop has learned both from Moses and from others of a scarcity of food in the priest's district, and he describes the measures he has taken to relieve this distress. That such periods of want were endemic in Mesopotamia is suggested by letter 45 which records a famine in Nisibis and the gift of grain sent to that city's assistance.

41. A long letter to the honourable Mar Yazdannan who is a Christian layman, but who had developed some animus towards the Christian priesthood, and whose interest in the welfare of the Church seems to have waned. As the faithful are suffering everywhere because of government action, the bishop asks him about the grounds of his difference with the priests, and urges him to maintain his faith and to exercise his influence for the protection of the Church.

42. A long letter to Mar Gabriel, the metropolitan bishop, the burden of which is that the Jacobites have now built their first church in Mosul. The Jacobites who are "a nest of Satan," are the subject of another letter (47) to the same bishop.

43. To the clergy and believers in Balad, whose letter the bishop has just received. In this reply to it, the bishop's exhortation for unity and peace suggests that party feelings in Balad were very strong.

We are reminded by two of Jesusyahb's letters (42 and 47) that in the seventh century tension between Nestorian and Jacobite was a permanent feature of Christianity in Persia. An embarrassing loss to the Nestorians, sometime after 628, was the defection of Sahdona, bishop of Mahoze of Arewan, to the Jacobite camp. Sahdona defended his apostasy in a work entitled "The Fictitiousness of Faith." In a letter to the church in Mahoze of Arewan, Jesusyahb III wrote a long criticism of the apology, Budge's translation of which is reproduced in Scott-Moncrieff, *The Book of Consolations*, pp xii-xx.

4. Jesusyahb II (628-643).

When Kavad II became king in 628, he gave the Christians of his realm complete liberty, which resulted in the Nestorian bishops assembling at Seleucia to elect a Catholicos. Their first choice was Babai, abbot of the monastery of Abraham at Izla, who had in recent years rendered such outstanding service to the Church when there was no Patriarch. But Babai refused the honour with its heavy responsibilities, preferring to spend his remaining years in his monastery. So the bishops chose one of their own number, Jesusyahb II, bishop of Balad. Incidentally, the last bishop of Balad recorded in the *Synodicon Orientale* is one, Yedigird, who attended the Synod of Joseph in 554. Jesusyahb was a native of Gedala, a village of Beth 'Arbaye, who had studied at Nisibis. But he had left the School when the controversy centering in Henana was at its height, and had actually written a treatise against Henana's views. Budge claims that at one time he was head of the monastery at Izla.¹⁴ He was subsequently appointed to the see of Balad, and now, although he was a married man, he was given the highest office in the Nestorian Church. Subsequent to his election he and a group of bishops accompanied Babai from Seleucia to the convent at Izla as a gesture of appreciation for what he had done for the Church during the reign of Khusro II.¹⁵

During the short reign of Queen Boran (629-30), the Catholicos led a party of Nestorian clerics to a previously arranged meeting with the Byzantine emperor, Heraclius, in Aleppo.¹⁶ The purpose of this small

¹⁴ *Bk of Gov* 2, note 3 on p 61.

¹⁵ *Bk of Gov* 2, I. xxxv, pp 115-16.

¹⁶ *Bk of Gov* 2, II. iv. pp 123-27, and note 2, pp 125-26.

gathering is not clear. If it was initiated by the Queen, it may have been intended as a formal announcement to Heraclius of her accession to the Persian throne, or it may simply have been a friendly gesture to Heraclius who was in Syria at this time (summer of 630). Whatever its primary purpose, it became the occasion for a theological dialogue between Heraclius and the Catholicos, in which the former was convinced of the orthodoxy (from the Greek point of view) of the Persians, so that the king and Catholicos were able to share together in Holy Communion. Nothing very tangible came of this meeting, except that when Jesusyahb returned home, he was met with strong criticism from those who were convinced that when in Aleppo he had not stood up stoutly enough in defence of Nestorianism.

Two incidents emerging from the Aleppo meeting deserve a brief comment. One relates to Sahdona, a member of the Persian delegation, later to become bishop of Mahoze of Arewan. While in Syria, Sahdona visited a monastery in Apamea and held a long conversation with one of the monks, the result of which undermined Sahdona's Nestorian beliefs. When he returned to Persia he developed, as we have seen in the previous section, into a full-blown Monophysite, and he eventually had to be expelled from the Nestorian Church.¹⁷ Another occurrence stemming from the Nestorians' visit to Aleppo, shows us Jesusyahb III, the archbishop of Hazza and Mosul (the future Catholicos) in a rather peculiar light. This cleric who was a member of the Nestorian group that had interviewed Heraclius, was in Antioch for a few days on the way back to Persia, and in one of the churches of the city he saw a white marble casket said to contain relics of the blessed apostles and reputed to be the cause of miracles. The upshot of it all was that Jesusyahb, after appropriate prayer, stole the casket and brought it back to Persia with him and placed it in the monastery of Beth 'Abe.¹⁸

Living where and when he did, it was inevitable that the Catholicos should have to confront the expansion of the Arabs beyond their traditional homeland. He would realize that the fall of Hira (635), the battle of Qadisiyah (637) and the Arab entry into Ctesiphon (637) were major disasters for the Persian regime. As the months passed it would have become evident to him that the Arab attacks were more than a gigantic razzia, for along with the fighting and the plundering, a new religious creed was being propagated. The world that the Catholicos had known was in fact falling apart, an impression strengthened by the bits of news filtering through from Syria and Palestine: the battle of the Yarmuk river (636), and the fall of both Antioch and Jerusalem in 638 told the same tale. There was nothing to

¹⁷ On Sahdona's abandonment of the Nestorian faith, see *Bk of Gov* 2, II. vi, pp 128-30. For the Syriac text of letters, written by Mar Jesusyahb III, which relate to Sahdona, see id pp 132-47.

¹⁸ *Bk of Gov* 2, II. v, pp 127-28.

be done by the Catholicos and his Church but wait for whatever might emerge from this series of political disasters. It is doubtful if, at this stage in the expansion of Islam, the Christians of Persia were treated differently from those in the Byzantine world. We are told that when Khalid, the great Arab leader, stood before Damascus in September 635, he announced, "In the name of God, the compassionate, the merciful, this is what Khalid would grant to the inhabitants of Damascus if he enters therein: he promises to give them security for their lives, property, and churches. Their city shall not be demolished neither shall any Moslem be quartered in their houses. Thereunto we give to them the pact of God and the protection of his prophet. . . . So long as they pay the poll tax, nothing but good shall befall them."¹⁹ Presumably this same general policy would have been applied to the cities of Persia and to the Persian Christians. The Persian campaign was under the direction of Sa'd ibn-abi-Waqqas, one of Mohammed's "Companions," and it would be he with whom all agreements would be made. It is probable that the Catholicos entered into some understanding with Sa'd, but the conditions of such an agreement, given by Bar Hebraeus, may belong in part to a later period.²⁰ It is also possible that agreements made by the local Arab commander had to be confirmed by the Caliph, which may explain how the names of Abu Bakr and/or 'Umar are connected with the tradition. Any hope Jesusyab II may have secretly cherished of Persia regaining political power in western Asia was snuffed out in 641 when the last great battle between the Persians and the Arabs was fought at Nihawand, near Hamadan, a battle which resulted in an overwhelming defeat for what was left of Yazdagird's army.

We infer from Thomas of Marga that Jesusyab II had a more than ordinary interest in the education of the young. He is credited by Thomas with attempting to establish a school close to the monastery of Izla. But his plan was frustrated by the opposition of the monks, and the Catholicos had to settle for a school in his native village.²¹ We suspect that he may have built other schools as well. On schools which the Nestorians commonly established to propagate their teaching, see *Histoire de Marouta* in PO 3, pp 65-66. The Catholicos is also credited with a number of writings, including a commentary on the Psalms.²² He died about 643. He was succeeded in the Catholicate by Mar Emmeh, who held office for about four years, and he in turn was succeeded by Jesusyab III, who died between 657 and 660.

¹⁹ Quoted from P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, p 150.

²⁰ These conditions are quoted by Budge in *Bk of Gov* 2, note 2 on pp 125-26; cf Labourt, pp 245-46.

²¹ *Bk of Gov* 2, II. vii-x, pp 131-32, 147-53.

²² Wright, p 170; Baumstark, p 196.

5. Monophysitism (after 628).

The Monophysites, like the Nestorians, enjoyed the freedom extended to Christians by Kavad II, and they proceeded to reorganize themselves for a future unclouded by Zoroastrian persecution. The recent struggles between the Byzantines and the Persians had resulted, in its early stages, in large numbers of prisoners from Syria being sent to Persia. We know, for instance, that when Dara was taken in 606, the bulk of its population was transferred to Persia. When Sahrbaraz captured Antioch in 611, the same thing took place. When Jerusalem fell in 614, 35,000 prisoners, who included many craftsmen, were taken first to Damascus and then to Persia (cf *Chr de Michel* 2, XI. 1, pp 400-401). Most of these prisoners would be Christian, and probably the majority of the Christians, at least from Syria, would be Monophysites, which meant that the Monophysite constituency in Persia would be strengthened numerically.

The first step in the renewal of Monophysitism was taken by Athanasius, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch. The latter had sent his assistant John to Persia, presumably to take his compliments to Kavad II. John, on his return to Syria, prevailed upon some of the Monophysite bishops to accompany him, doubtless to plan their strategy for the future. The party which went to Antioch in 629 comprised Christopher, the abbot of the Mar Mattai monastery, four bishops and three monks, one of the latter being Marutha (on Marutha see ch 10, sect 8). One aim of the delegation was to have Athanasius ordain the monks as bishops, but Athanasius refused to do this, and the Persian bishops had to act independently. They therefore not only ordained Marutha, but made him grand metropolitan of Tagrit and gave him authority over all the orthodox (Monophysite) Church of the Orient. They even empowered him to nominate the head of the Mar Mattai monastery.²³ Marutha was in fact the Patriarch of the Jacobite Christians in Persia. The title for the holder of this office at a later date was to be Maphrian (*Syr mpryn*). According to Bar Hebraeus (quoted by F. Nau, *Histoire de Marouta*, pp 57-58) Marutha had to begin with twelve bishops under him, but this number may be inflated and may reflect later usage. The sees are given as Beth 'Arbaye, Shiggar, Ma'alta, Arzun, Gomel, Beth Ramman, Karmeh, Gozarta of Qardu, Beth Nuhadra, Perozshapur, Shiarzur, the Arab Taglibetes (banu Taglib).²⁴ Marutha is said to have ordained at a later date bishops for Segestan, Herat and Azerbaijan. The location of these bishoprics give us a fair idea of the extent of Monophysitism in Persia in the early seventh century. Thus it was that the Monophysites settled down to life under a more tolerant political regime. Like the Nestorians, little did they know in 629-30 of the epoch-making changes that lay just ahead. But events soon caught up with them, and when the Muslim forces

²³ For the letter of Athanasius to the monks of Mar Mattai, see *Chr de Michel* 2, XL. v, pp 414-17.

²⁴ Cf the list of bishoprics in J. M. Fiey, *Jalons*, pp 141-42.

advanced up the Tigris river, it was Marutha who had the citadel of Tagrit opened to them to save the city from the calamity of a siege. Marutha died in 649 and was succeeded as Jacobite Patriarch in Persia by Denḥa, the author of the history of Marutha which F. Nau has edited.

6. Asceticism and Monasticism in Parthia and Persia.²⁵

In treating this subject historically, we must go back briefly to the second century, for it seems probable that some forms of Christian asceticism had penetrated Parthia at this time. Tatian, for instance, who is said to have returned to the east (possibly Adiabene) c 172, and who had become an apostle of encratite views, probably made some converts east of the Tigris. Though it is of interest that in that part of the *Chronicle of Arbela* which covers the Parthian period (down to bishop Hiran, 225–58; pp 1–31 of the Syriac text), there are no references to any form of asceticism, nor to the uncleanness which most ascetics attached to marriage. On pp 45–6 of the Syriac text of this *Chronicle*, there is an allusion to one, Jacob, living in the early fourth century near the Persian-Roman border, who was a solitary saint, renowned for his prayers, vigils and fastings. The one fourth century ascetic figure of whom we have considerable knowledge is Aphraates (see ch 8, sect 2). His treatise on monks (6) and on virginity (18), and his listing of virginity with fasting, prayer, love, meekness and holiness as prime requisites for the service of Christ (1.4) illustrates how well-rooted this type of Christianity was in Persia at this time. As late as the Synod of Acacius (486) the Church was having trouble controlling extreme ascetics (canon 2). From canon 3 we may infer that the bishops still had to contend for the view that while celibacy was the more perfect path for Christians to take, marriage adorned by the procreation of children was a totally acceptable option available even to the clergy.

It was the cenobitical type of monasticism that came to dominate the Persian Church, and its beginnings go back, according to legend, to an Egyptian named Augen (Awgin, Eugene; *Chr de Séert*, PO 4, vii, pp 234–36). This individual from a village near modern Suez was a pearl fisher, and later he joined the monastery of Pachomius (d 346), where he served as baker. He subsequently felt called to go to northern Mesopotamia as a

²⁵ Three works by A. Vööbus are of prime importance:

The History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient,

- I. *The Origin of Asceticism: Early Monasticism in Persia*, CSCO 184, Subsidia 14, Louvain, 1958;
- II. *Early Monasticism in Mesopotamia and Syria*, CSCO 197, Subsidia 17, Louvain, 1960;
- III. *Syriac and Arabic Documents* (regarding Legislation relative to Syrian Asceticism), PETSE 11, Stockholm, 1960.

Christian missionary, taking with him 28 (or 66, or 70 or 72) monks, and they settled in Mount Izla, south of Nisibis, and from this point the associates of Augen fanned out to found monasteries and convents in different parts of the Persian kingdom. Augen himself, the story goes, had friendly relations both with the Roman emperor Constantine and with the Persian king Shapur II. He is said to have died c 363. The Augen narrative taxes our credulity in so many ways that most historians are inclined to ignore it completely. This is what A. Vööbus does in his *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient*, Vol 1, pp 217–20, a position which receives some support from the fact that Thomas of Marga seems to be completely unaware of the Augen tradition in his *Book of Governors*. However, the editor of the *Book of Governors*, E. A. W. Budge, appears to accept the Augen story at its face value (1, pp cxxv–cxxx). For a more recent discussion of Mar Augen, see J. M. Fiey, *Jalons*, pp 100–12.

Between the strictly eremitical type of asceticism and the cenobitical, we should probably place the hermitage type, which designates a group of men, essentially hermits, who lived in solitary cells where they ate their food, and who came together only for worship in the chapel. This was the type of asceticism favoured by Antony of Egypt (d 356). The residuum of this variety of asceticism is found in the practice of some later monasteries in which one or more cells were set aside for recluses whose participation in the life of the institution was minimal.

Thomas of Marga speaks of Greek monks exiled by the emperor Valens (364–78) who settled near Mosul and remained there until permitted to return to the Byzantine world in 379 by the emperor Theodosius. We can only speculate on the effect of these monks on Persian monasticism (cf *Bk of Gov*, 2, VI. 1, pp 577–78).

Among the early founders of monasteries in the Persian Church we shall cite only Mar 'Abda and his pupil Mar 'Abdjesus.²⁶ Mar 'Abda, who belongs to the second half of the fourth century, was abandoned as a child, but was rescued and raised by a Christian family and eventually he became an ascetic and also a priest. He combined his performance as an ascetic with a zeal for missionary work, his activities in the latter regard apparently being confined to Beth Aramaye. He added to his fame by founding a monastery, which also contained a school, at Dair Qoni near later Baghdad, where he served as abbot and where he eventually gathered around him about sixty disciples. One of his pupils was Aḥai who became his successor as abbot and who c 410 was elected as the Nestorian Catholicos. Mar 'Abdjesus, mentioned above, came from Maishan and studied at the monastery and school of Mar 'Abda. He subsequently returned to Maishan where he did considerable missionary work. He was also active as the founder of monastic communities mostly in south-west Persia, in Maishan, on the island of Bahrain and at Hira.

²⁶ A. Vööbus, HASO I, pp 266–70.

The growth of monasteries and the bringing of them into the fold of the Church, increased the repute of monks vis à vis the ecclesiastical hierarchy and made it possible for monks to fill responsible offices in the institutional Church. Thus in the early fifth century, two of the Nestorian Patriarchs were in fact monks, viz Mar Aḥai and Mar Yahbalaha I. Two centuries later, when the new Sasanian king Kavad II in 628 allowed the Nestorians once more to elect a Catholicos, the bishops' first choice was Mar Babai the abbot of the Mount Izla monastery. When the latter declined the honour, the bishop of Balad, Jesusyab II, was chosen instead.

As the trend towards cenobitical asceticism increased, monasteries became the recipients of gifts from pious laymen or from monks who had inherited property, and as a result some of these institutions became comparatively wealthy. We learn, for instance, that one, Rabban bar Had Be-Shabba of the village of Hadod, who had earlier been in the Great Monastery at Izla, built in the last sixth century a monastery near his village and he gave to it large gifts and bequeathed to it all his family inheritance (*Bk of Gov*, 2, I, xv, pp 68-69). In the next century when Jesusyab III, who had become Catholicos c 647-50, wished to establish a school in the monastery of Beth 'Abe (against the wishes of the monks), he said in defending his proposal, "I have adorned and endowed this monastery with property and earthly possessions" (*Bk of Gov*, 2, II, viii, p 149). When the Muslim era arrived, the property owned by some of the monasteries made the latter a tempting prey for lawless or fanatical individuals (*Bk of Gov*, I, p lxvi; 2, IV, xxi, pp 450-54).

The so-called Canons of Marutha.

Marutha, the bishop of Maiperqaṭ, who was active in the Nestorian Synod of 410, is said to have given the Church some canons other than the twenty-one included in the record of the Synod in SO, pp 263-73. A. Vööbus believes that the canons he presents in his *Syriac and Arabic Documents* (pp 115-49) are basically those of Marutha, who was himself a monk and presumably interested in the spread of a disciplined asceticism. While these canons may contain material that is later than Marutha, they are being summarized below as evidence of the existence of monasticism in the Persian Church in the early fifth century and as illustrative of the ethos of Nestorian monasticism at this stage of its development. Each of the canons except number 59 is prefaced by "It is the will of the general synod." The first canon is numbered 25.

25. On the chorepiscopus. The bishop shall select the chorepiscopus from the order of the monks. The chorepiscopus shall select overseers (Syr *s'wr'*) for the churches and monasteries. The bishop shall visit both the churches and monasteries of his diocese, and shall see that ever church and monastery has a priest.

26. On further duties of the chorepiscopus.

27. Monks shall gather once a year to honour the bishop and to share communion with him. Those who have recently become abbots of monasteries shall visit the bishop three times a year.

28-35 are missing.

36. On hospitals, which shall be in towns and each of which is to have a monk as its curator.

37-39 are missing.

40. On the election of an abbot.

42-46 are missing.

47. A monk is to be chosen as the overseer of prisoners. He is to dwell in the church or in the hospital, and he shall be the agent of the local prison, and shall act on behalf of the prisoners when necessary, e.g., he shall receive money to ransom a believer who has come to ruin through no fault of his own.

48. On the qualifications of an abbot. He shall have been educated in a monastery and shall be literate. He is to be subordinate to the bishop, the archdeacon and the chorepiscopus.

49. The steward, the door-keeper and the other servants of a monastery are to be chosen by the abbot.

50. On the qualifications and duties of a steward.

51. On the qualifications, duties, and behaviour of the door-keeper.

52. On the qualifications, duties, and behaviour of the overseer.

53. On the qualifications and duties of the young assistant to the abbot (the service of Elisha to Elijah is cited as an example).

54. On the internal discipline of a monastery:

All shall participate in the service, in prayer, in reading and in fasting; item 2 suggests that the work of the monastery is allotted to each on a weekly basis (cf items 17, 18, 21, 24);

the seating of a stranger at the table;

complaints regarding food served at the table;

altercations between monks or physical violence against the abbot;

items 7-17 indicate how to cope with slander, intemperate drinking, laziness, quarrelsomeness, insubordination, rebelliousness, fornication, stealing, absence from the monastery, trouble-making, somnolence during the service;

working monks eat twice a day (sixth hour and evening), non-working monks once a day;

monks sleep on the floor in one house, or on the ground; the abbot and the sick may sleep in beds; there is to be no disrobing or loosening of the girdle when retiring;

there shall be seven services a day (morning, third, sixth and ninth hours, evening meal, evening, night);

all sound in health shall work;

there shall be two kinds of garments, one for the winter and one for the summer, and each is to have its wearer's name on it;

when it is too hot to work, reading must be done;

the time available each day shall be devoted to the service and reading, work (not specified), and meals and rest;

monks may drink a stated amount of wine;

items 26-33 deal with applicants for membership in the monastery; an applicant shall be interrogated by the abbot; a slave is permitted only if his master approves; if the applicant has been living with his parents, parental approval is required; if he is married, his wife must approve; if he is a parent, he is not to be received; a man fleeing from his wife may be received; a murderer may be received if he did not kill wilfully.

55 is missing.

56. Churches, martyria and monasteries are to be consecrated by either a bishop or a chorepiscopus.

57. The abbot of a monastery or the priest of a church cannot change the altar in the chapel of the monastery or in the church without the consent of the chorepiscopus.

58. The canons that pertain to the monks shall be read before them twice a year.

59. Various injunctions: monks are not to be married even spiritually (the pure union) to women (this is possible for clerics and laity); no meat shall be eaten in monasteries; regulations about garments, foot-wear, and tonsure; monastic garb is not to be worn outside the monastery.

60-65 are missing.

66. A monastery whose abbot has been made a chorepiscopus is to be honoured.

We should note that in the above canons, the institution of the sons and daughters of the Covenant is taken for granted (see ch 5, sect 9), and various rules for them are included in Marutha's canons (25.7; 26.2-4; 27.1; 41.1-3; 54.3; 58. 1; 59. 8).

The Rules of Abraham of Kashkar.²⁷

Abraham of Kashkar,²⁸ born c 491-2, studied at Nisibis, and after serving as a missionary in Hira, he journeyed to Egypt and familiarized himself with the monastic traditions of that region. When he returned to the East, he retired to a cave on Mount Izla near Nisibis, and presently he founded a monastery at this spot (before 571), which came to be known as the Great Monastery and which he governed until his death in 588. Abraham gathered around him a group of eminent men who before and after his death propagated his ascetic ideals and practices in all regions of

²⁷ A. Vööbus, *Documents*, pp 150-62.

²⁸ *Bk of Gov*, 2, I, iv, pp 37-42.

Persia. The Great Monastery thus became a very influential institution, one reason being that its founder wished to associate the monasticism of his day more closely with the Church. Thomas of Marga goes so far as to say that the monastery of Mar Abraham served Persian monasticism in a similar way that Athens served Greek philosophy (*Bk of Gov*, 2, I, iv, p. 42)

What follows is a summary of Abraham's rules, which are dated 571:

1. On the need for tranquility and for avoiding idleness.
- 2, 5, 9. On fasting.
3. On prayer, the reading of the Scriptures, and the seven daily services.
4. On silence, serenity, loneliness, and quietness of speech.
5. In the Lenten fast, no one shall go out of his cell, except in an emergency.
6. On avoiding contact with other monasteries or with the houses of believers.
7. On avoiding the calumination of a brother.
8. If one is early for the Sunday service, he should improve the time by reading the Scriptures.
9. Fasting shall be terminated only for special reasons.
10. New brothers are to be on probation (for how long is not indicated).
11. A sick brother shall not be brought to the house of a believer, but to the town hospice.
12. On a monk who is indifferent to the rules.

The Rules of Dadjesus.²⁹

Dadjesus came from Beth Aramaye, and after studying at Nisibis he came to mount Izla, being, so Thomas of Marga claims, Mar Abraham's first disciple.³⁰ He became Abraham's successor and served as abbot of the Great Monastery 588-604. Selections from his twenty-eight canons, which are dated 588, are given below. It is clear, particularly from canons 1 and 2, that the times were marked by theological disputes, and that it was more necessary than ever for the monks to be loyal to the orthodox faith of the Nestorian Church.

1. The brothers are expected to adhere to the orthodox faith and to the teaching of Diodorus, Theodore, and Nestorius.
2. There are to be no dealings with heretics, soothsayers or charmers.
3. The steward, not the abbot, is to manage gifts for the monastery.
- 4, 16. The services on Sundays and fast-days are not to be neglected, nor the reading of the Scriptures interrupted.
5. On the treatment of a brother who leaves the monastery and wanders around the country.

²⁹ A. Vööbus, *Documents*, pp 163-75.

³⁰ *Bk of Gov* 2, I, v, pp 42-44.

6. Visits to town and all travelling must receive the permission of the abbot.

7. A new brother must be able to read.

10. All the brothers shall share in the work of the community (no details of the work are given).

12. A visiting brother with personal problems ("being vexed by an evil spirit") shall be accepted only for a few days of prayer.

13. A new brother must live for three years in the community (Syr *qnw-byn*). If his conduct prove satisfactory, he may then be given an empty cell, or build a cell for himself with the help of the other monks.

15. Bread is not to be baked in the monastery except under special circumstances.

17. Boys (Syr *tly'*) shall not be accepted into the community.

18. Deposits from laymen shall not be accepted.

19. A brother is subject to the commands of the fraternity.

20. This appears to mean that if some of the brothers have to go outside on business, there must always remain five brothers in the monastery.

21. The steward is under the supervision of the abbot.

22. The steward shall visit the brothers in their cells once a month.

23, 25. The abbot, in counsel with the brothers, shall distribute daily the available food to all equally.

24. If the abbot does not rebuke a brother who violates the rules, he shall have to give an account before the judgment seat of Christ.

26. On correcting a brother who disturbs the community or who slanders a fellow monk or who is generally difficult and contentious.

27. If a brother takes sick and he does not wish to go to the hospice in town, a brother shall be appointed each week to take care of him.

The Monastery of Beth 'Abe.

A concrete example of a Nestorian monastery is described in *The Book of Governors* by Thomas, bishop of Marga.³¹ This is the history of the abbots and monks connected with the monastery of Beth 'Abe ("house of the forest") from its foundation until the time of Thomas. Thomas had entered the monastery as a young man about 832. In 837 he became secretary to the Patriarch Abraham by whom he was made bishop of Marga (north-east of Mosul), and afterwards metropolitan of Beth Garmai.

The location of Beth 'Abe is not known precisely, but it seems to have been not far from the Great Zab river, and c 60-70 miles north-east of Mosul. Thomas's chronicle commences with an account of Abraham of Kashkar, who was baptized by the Catholicos Babai and who as we have earlier seen was the founder of the Great Monastery on Mount Izla. Eventually there were three

³¹ *The Book of Governors*, 2 vols, London, 1893, ed by E. A. W. Budge. Vol 1 is the Syriac text, with an English introduction, and vol 2 is the ET.

other monasteries on this mountain. Abraham is said to have instituted a distinctive Nestorian tonsure (like a wheel and a crown), which a monk received after three years and three months in the monastery.

It is difficult to visualize the physical structure of the Great Monastery so that some monks could use their cells to house the women with whom they were living (as well as children), and this not be known to the abbot. But this in fact was the case, and it was only brought to light when one of the monks, Elijah, discovered the situation accidentally. The erring monks and their families were then expelled from the monastery and their cells were burned. This was not the end of the matter however. Mar Jacob, one of the monks, whose cell was near those of the men who had been expelled, was now accused by Elijah of sheltering the monks who had sinned, and the abbot, Mar Babai, who was "somewhat hasty of speech and harsh in command," determined that he too should leave the community. So Mar Jacob and a disciple "went forth to the mountains of Qardo to lead the life of anchorites." We read that Mar Jacob took with him "the book of the Gospels." The expulsion of Mar Jacob led to disagreement among the brothers, and many of them left Izla and eventually founded monasteries elsewhere. Thomas reports, "they filled the country of the East with monasteries and convents and habitations of monks" (*Bk of Gov*, 2, 1, xiv, p 68).

After a period of unstated length Mar Jacob returned to the monastery of Mount Izla, where the abbot Mar Babai received him. But he remained in his old haunt only a short time, for he was moved, with the benediction of Mar Babai, to leave the monastery once more, this time taking nine brothers with him, and he headed for Beth 'Abe. Evidently there was an older monastic foundation at Beth 'Abe, but the date of its founding is a matter of speculation. There is some evidence that it was consecrated by the Catholicos Tomarsa (364-65 to 372-73), but if so, by Mar Jacob's time it had fallen into disuse (*Bk of Gov*, 1, p xlv). When Mar Jacob reached the site, c 595-96, the monastery apparently had to be completely rebuilt, and in that sense he was its founder. When Mar Babai inspected the Nestorian monasteries in the early seventh century, Beth 'Abe was one of the institutions he visited (*Bk of Gov*, 2, 1 xxix, pp 97-100).

The monastery of Beth 'Abe was a comparatively modest establishment. Its central and most important structure was of course the chapel or church (where there were seven daily services), and close to it were a number of other buildings housing the cells of the monks. The latter numbered in the early days about eighty men, but in the mid-seventh century this figure had risen to three hundred (*Bk of Gov*, 1, pp lxxiii, xlvi). Quarters were set aside for the kitchen, the refectory, sleeping accommodation for the novices, the entertainment of strangers, and the library. The library was gradually built up, thanks to donors and benefactors, and it is estimated that by the early ninth century it contained 700-1000 volumes (*Bk of Gov* 1, pp lix-lxiv, cvii; 2, pp 174, 179, 239, 282, 299).

The library of Beth 'Abe was only one of the many libraries housed in the Nestorian monasteries. While the subject matter of the books appears to have been restricted to biblical and theological themes, the fact that monks were required to spend part of their time reading manuscripts and/or recopying them meant that an intellectual tradition, even though limited in scope, was maintained in the Church.

On a somewhat lower level academically we should note that the Nestorian monasteries, like those in the Byzantine world, were involved in the education of the young, doubtless with a view to recruiting from their ranks suitable persons as "sons of the Covenant," as well as priests and monks. The *Chronicle of Arbela* tells us that in the time of bishop Henana (early sixth century), Abraham of the School of Nisibis had sent one, Paul, to Mar Henana to establish a school for the children of Adiabene. Paul is reported to have been engaged in this work for more than thirty years.³² The *Histoire de Marouta* by F. Nau records that the Jacobite Patriarch paid tribute *en passant* to the schools established in the towns by the Nestorians (PO 3, p 65). We have to move on a century to pick up further data on education. Thomas of Marga relates that Babai the musician, who flourished in the mid eighth century, did much in the country of Marga for its schools, founding or restoring sixty of them and providing a teacher for each one (*Bk of Gov*, 2, III, i-ii, pp 296-97; iii, pp 306-7). At least five of these schools were located in monasteries. Not all monasteries welcomed a school either in their midst or even near them. When the Catholicos, Mar Jesusyahb III, in the seventh century proposed to establish a school in the monastery of Beth 'Abe, he was opposed by the abbot and the monks. "It is not good for us monks . . . to be disturbed . . . by the noise of the voices of the school boys." (*Bk of Gov*, 2, II, vii, pp 131-32; viii-x, pp 147-53). The result was that the Catholicos gave up his project for Beth 'Abe, and built instead a school in his native village, Kuphlana.

Monophysite Monasticism.

Monasticism was as much a feature of the Monophysite Church as it was of the Nestorian. The leading monastery of the Monophysites was that of Mar Mattai in Jebel Maklub, near Mosul, whose founder, Mattai (Matthew), was martyred by Shapur II. For a description of the monastery as it was in 1843, see G. P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, 1, pp 96-97.

A. Vööbus claims that a group of canons of anonymous origin, twenty-six in number, preserved by Bar Hebraeus, and which the latter calls the canons of the Persians, are in fact rules for Monophysite monks.³³ Despite differences related to the tonsure, these rules are essentially the same as those for Nestorian monasteries. We draw attention only to the following:

³² *Chronicle of Arbela*, p 75 of the Syriac text, 11 48-54.

³³ *Documents*, pp 87-92.

3,4,5. On the steward, the door-keeper and the overseer.

9. A monk assisting a priest in a church in town or in a village, shall put a white garment over his monastic robe.

11. When a monk finishes his manual work, he shall meditate in the divine books.

13. A homily shall be read while the brothers dine.

14. The monastic garb is put on only after three years in the monastery.

15. A monk shall take care of the correction of himself only, and not that of his brothers.

18. "A monk shall not pass the night in the cell of his fellow-monk."

19. On a monk inheriting property from his family.

20. The tonsure is to be given by the abbot only after a year's probation.

22. "A monk who knows only one psalm, shall repeat the same in all the prayers."

23. "A monk who eats meat shall be punished as one who fornicates."

24. "If a monk wants to pray in his cell, this shall be allowed to him only on ordinary days, and not on the feasts or on Sundays."

Conclusion

As the Syriac-using Christians in Roman Syria were in fact part of the Church in the Byzantine world, we shall not attempt here to include them in this retrospective view of our subject. Such virtues and deficiencies as they had were shared by their Greek-speaking brethren, and their future in a considerable measure was bound up with them. Even the Syrian Monophysites (or Jacobites) were but one segment of the Monophysitism we meet with both in Egypt and in Armenia. All of them, whether orthodox or Monophysite, with the exception of those whose good fortune it was to live in Asia Minor west of the Taurus mountains, were destined to be involved in the Arab maelstrom of the seventh century, and while most of them survived under Arab rule, life for them was never to be quite the same again.

Our principal concern here is therefore with the Church in Sasanian Persia. Its beginnings in the Parthian era are obscure, but to the best of our knowledge, relatively peaceful. It was the advent of the Sasanians which changed this picture. Christians in Persia now found themselves under a regime which was only occasionally benevolent, was sometimes indifferent, and frequently was opposed to their very existence. The goodwill which some of the Sasanian rulers displayed towards their Christian subjects was often offset by the antagonism of others. On occasion the election of a Catholicos or the holding of a Synod were interfered with either by the king himself or by the machinations of his advisers. The one constant factor in this situation was the hostility of the Zoroastrian hierarchy. When the influence of the Magi was strong, then Christians, particularly Persians who had abandoned their traditional religion, were in for an unpleasant time, and for some this meant eventual death. At such times anti-Christian feelings, possibly whipped up by local government officials, frequently involved the pillage and even the destruction of Church property. In short, the Persian Church, in the four centuries we are considering, led a somewhat precarious existence.

In the light of the circumstances under which it operated, we cannot but admire the Persian Church's faithful and stubborn witness to the Christian faith, and we here include both the Nestorians and the Monophysites. It is true that while it has given us competent Church historians (who flourished mostly in the Islamic era), it never produced theologians or polemicists such as were found in the Byzantine West, nor did it ever exert any real influence upon the main stream of Greek and Latin Christianity. Its theology, basically that of the Nicene Creed, was derived from the Greek Church, as were its

Scriptures and much of its canon law. Nevertheless its devotion to the Scriptures, and its relatively simple institutions—the priesthood, the episcopate, the monasteries, the schools, the liturgy—seem to have given the Persian Church a vitality which assured its survival in the trying conditions under which it often had to carry on its work. This valiant Christian effort in the Sasanian period on behalf of the City of God must be viewed as part of the total history of the Christian Church, and it is then seen as another exemplification of that deep Christian faith which finds its classical literary expression in the NT in Hebrews 11:1–12:2.

Appendices

The dates cited here frequently go beyond the chronological limits of the main text.

1. The Early Missionary Efforts of Syriac Christians.

In Arabia.

The vast peninsula of Arabia lay just to the south of Roman Syria and Palestine and Sasanian Persia, but it never seems to have presented itself to Syriac Christians as a field for serious Christian evangelism. This may have been partly due to the tribal organization of Arab society and to the nomadic or semi-nomadic character of most of the population, features of Arab life which made traditional methods of Christian proselytization difficult to apply. The Ghassanid Arabs of north-west Arabia, to whom reference was made earlier in this study (ch 3, sect 6), became Christians of the Monophysite variety, and they were undoubtedly responsible for some Christianity percolating into the Hijaz and as far south as Yaman. We know from various sources (e.g., A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites*, Lund, 1924) that about 500 A.D. there were substantial numbers of Christians, as well as Jews, in south-west Arabia, mostly in Yaman. We must also remember that the Lakhmid Arabs were in the north-east of the peninsula, and that their king (as it happened, their last king), al-Nu'man III (c 580–602), adopted the Nestorian version of Christianity prevalent in Persia. But long before the king's conversion, the Lakhmid capital Hira (Hirta) was the location of a Christian bishopric (SO, the Synods of 410, 424, 486, 497, 585). It is therefore likely, with the existing economic ties between the Lakhmids and south-west Arabia, that zealous Christians from Hira were another source of the Christianity in the south-west of the peninsula. Even after the rise of Islam, and despite the dictum of the Caliph 'Umar (634–44) that only Muslims should be found within Arabia, it is curious that the small Nestorian Synod of 676, called by the Catholicos Mar George I, was attended by one metropolitan and five bishops, all of whose sees were located in or near the Persian Gulf; one bishop was from Beth Qatraye, on the Arabian mainland opposite the Bahrain islands, and another was the bishop of the Mazonaye (the inhabitants of 'Uman). About a hundred years later, when Thomas of Marga was recording the bishops consecrated by the Catholicos Timothy I (780–820), he refers to the bishop of Yaman and of San'a (*Bk of Gov*, 2, IV. 20, p 448). This was now the era of the somewhat more tolerant 'Abbasid line of Caliphs, and the older prescription against infidels within Arabia was evidently not always enforced.

In India and China.

We do not know what part Nestorian Christians from Persia played in establishing the Christian cause in India. As is well known, the Malabar Christians of south-west India trace their origin to the legend of St. Thomas who brought the Gospel to India and was martyred there. It is Eusebius who records a variant of this tradition, viz. that Pantaeus (d c 190), the first known head of the Catechetical School of Alexandria, visited India and found there Christians whose forbears had been evangelized by Bartholomew, one of the Apostles (*Eccl Hist* V. x. 1-4). The fact, however, that these Indian Christians for many centuries have used Syriac in their liturgy favours the view that Christianity was introduced among them by Nestorian (or Monophysite) missionaries from Persia. If this is so, it is odd that the Synods of the Nestorian Church, down to 775 (as recorded in the *Synodicon Orientale*), have no references to Christians or Christian bishops in India.

The Nestorian Church appears to have been more interested in the areas served by the old trade route which led from Persia to Merv and thence to China.¹ It was along this route that most of the silk merchandise was brought from China to Persia and the Byzantine world. It was in Justinian's time that Constantinople began to be less dependent on this source for its silk, after some monks (not further identified), who had been in China, had brought silk worm eggs and the basic technology of silk production to the Byzantine capital (Procopius, *Wars* VIII. xvii. 1-8). Just how early Persian Christians went into these more easterly regions we do not know. The Nestorian Synod of 424 had under its jurisdiction bishops from Herat and Abrashahr (both in Khurasan) and Merv (north of Khurasan) (SO, pp 285-98), and Merv continues to appear in the records of Synods held in 486, 497, 554 and 585.² To push eastwards from Merv into China would not be all that difficult for intrepid and dedicated missionaries, especially if they had the guidance of knowledgeable merchants. On Christian bishops travelling with merchants, see *Bk of Gov*, vol 2, V. x, pp 506-7. A Nestorian family bearing the name of Mar Sargis, is said to have come to Lin-t'ao, Kan-su, as early as 578, and Nestorian Christians are reported to have appeared at the court of the emperor of China in 635, in the Chen-kuan period (L. M. Outerbridge, *The Lost Churches of China*, Philadelphia, 1952, pp 35-36). It is Thomas of Marga who tells us, apropos of the times of Timothy I (780-820), that the Catholicos had consecrated one, David, as metropolitan of China (*Syr byt syny*; *Bk of Gov*, vol 2, IV. 20, p 448). Later

¹ For a popular account, with bibliography, of early Nestorianism in China, see L. M. Outerbridge, *The Lost Churches of China*, Philadelphia, 1952, pp 30-48.

² A. Vööbus (HASO I, pp 263-65) notes the reference in the *Chronique de Séert* (PO 5, p 256) to a monk named Barshabba who did missionary work in and around Merv between 355 and 385.

in his chronicle Thomas refers to bishops appointed to the countries beyond Gilan and Dailom or Delum (territories south-west of the Caspian Sea); "And they lightened all the ends of the east . . . and moreover the bread in those countries is made of rice" (*Bk of Gov*, 2, V. 7. pp 490-91, 493).

The most important single piece of evidence concerning Nestorian activity in China comes from the period of the T'ang dynasty (618-907), a dynasty which was one of China's most liberally minded, and which in particular was quite tolerant of Christian missionary efforts. About 1623 in Sian-fu a massive slab of stone, nine feet high, was found, inscribed in both Chinese and Syriac characters. This monument, whose authenticity was questioned for over two hundred years, is now generally regarded as genuine. It bears an imperial edict, and appears to have been first erected in 781; in its Syriac portion it records the names of sixty-seven Nestorian missionaries who have been active in Sian-fu. In modern times various other bits of evidence of Nestorian activity in Shan-si and Shen-si have come to light. Towards the close of the T'ang dynasty a Confucian revival occurred in China, which, among other things, polemized against both Buddhism and Christianity as being foreign religions. The result was that Nestorianism in China, after a period of toleration which lasted nearly three hundred years, was almost completely obliterated, leaving mostly stone records of its existence, records which were to be properly evaluated only in the modern period.

2. The Transmission of Western Science and Learning to the Arabs.³

It is a fact that within three centuries of the rise of Islam, the Arab world had appropriated through individual scholars and through translations a good deal of the science and learning which it found in Persia and in the conquered Byzantine territories. While this appropriation by the Arabs is incontestable, it is almost impossible, because of the lack of supporting data, to trace this process in detail, and we have to content ourselves with broad generalizations backed by the few certainties that can be discovered. Furthermore, the nature and chronological limits of the present study warrant us in giving this topic only a minimum amount of attention.

The Monophysite and Nestorian Churches as such had little or no interest in enriching the cultural life of the Moslem world. Their academies, such as the Nestorian foundations in Nisibis and Seleucia, were primarily theological institutions, with a strong emphasis on biblical studies, and such libraries as they had would reflect these interests. While, therefore, the organized Churches played no real part in the cultural transmission we are dealing with, individual Christians, and to a lesser extent individual Jews, were very active in this enterprise and deserve at least a passing notice.

³ See P. K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, London, 1937, ch 24, pp 297-316; A. O. Whipple, *The Role of the Nestorians and Muslims in the History of Medicine*, New York and Princeton, 1967.

It was in the sixth century that Khusro I (531-79) either founded a medical school, or strengthened an existing one, at Gundeshapur (Beth Lapaṭ was the Christian name for the city). The school must have utilized Persian medical lore, but it also seems to have been familiar with the Greek tradition as represented by Hippocrates and Galen, and from the sixth century on it was the most famous of Persia's medical schools. In the Islamic world it was known as Jundi-Shapur. Some of its teachers were undoubtedly Persians, but others were Christians, mostly Nestorians. We know, for instance, that when the Muslim era opened the family of Bukht-Jesus, a Christian physician, was active in the school; and for six generations members of this family continued to be conspicuous in the school's life. It is thought that the Christian, al-Ḥarīth ibn-Kalada, of al-Ta'if, who was well known in Arabia in the seventh century, had been trained at Jundi-Shapur. In the eighth century, the Caliph al-Manṣūr (754-75), ill with stomach trouble, summoned from Jundi-Shapur the prominent Nestorian physician, Jurjis (George) ibn-Bakhtishu. Jurjis apparently improved the Caliph's health, and remained in Baghdad to become the founder of a line of physicians to the Caliphs.

It is self evident that if scientific and scholarly material was to have its maximum usefulness in the Muslim community, it would have to be translated from whatever language it was in (Greek, Syriac, Pahlavi, Sanskrit) into Arabic. Thus the role of translators was paramount in the transmission of foreign learning into the language of Islam. Even in the days of Khusro I, the need for translation was recognized, as we learn from the career of Burzoe, the king's physician, who on his return to Persia from a visit to India, brought with him Indian works, presumably in Sanskrit, and these had to be translated into Pahlavi.⁴ It was a Nestorian physician, Yuḥanna ibn Masawayh, who was trained at Jundi-Shapur, to whom the Caliph Harun al-Rashid (786-809) entrusted the translation into Arabic of the many Greek manuscripts which were now coming into Muslim hands. He served as court physician to four Caliphs, and was also a distinguished medical teacher, his most famous pupil being Ḥunayn ibn Iṣḥāq (809-74). Ḥunayn became the best known, as well as the most prolific of the translators from Greek into Arabic, and he tells us a great deal about his predecessors in this field. Ḥunayn was appointed head of the Caliph's academy in Baghdad, and had charge of all scientific translation work. He was assisted in these endeavours by his son and nephew. In some cases Ḥunayn did the basic translation from Greek into Syriac, and his collaborators then turned the Syriac into Arabic.

3. Observations on the Syriac Liturgies.

The Syriac Churches both Nestorian and Monophysite, like the Greek and Latin Churches, developed their own forms of worship or liturgies, but

⁴ Christensen, p 429.

the history of these formularies is obscure. The earliest stages in this liturgical tradition can be readily identified, but once we are beyond these beginnings the path of the tradition is difficult to trace. To start with, there is the pattern of the Jewish synagogue service with its three basic elements of prayer, Scripture reading and homily. At what time the chanting or singing of Psalms became part of the service is uncertain. In any case Christians with a Jewish background would be partial to a form of Christian worship modelled on that of the synagogue. Second, there is the Last Supper described in the Synoptic Gospels and in 1 Cor 11:23-26. Since the identification of this Supper with the Passover cannot be maintained, it seems to follow that the Supper was remembered because it was the last meal that Jesus had with the Twelve. This occasion may have been formally a *ḥaburah* gathering (a *ḥaburah* was a company of like-minded friends), but what was said and done by Jesus on this occasion was never forgotten. Whether or not the words in Paul's account of the Supper, "Do this in remembrance of me" are an accurate translation of whatever Jesus said in Aramaic, the Greek text did ensure, as it turned out, that the memorial aspect of the Supper would never be lost. By the time of the *Didache* (second century), the Lord's Supper had become the Eucharist; it was observed on Sundays and it was available only to baptized persons (IX. 1-5; cf X. 1-7). It should be noted, however, that some scholars take these references in the *Didache* to be prayers for the *agape* and not for the Lord's Supper. Third, there is the *agape* or "love-feast" of the early Church (*Acts* 2:42, 46, 6:1-2; 1 Cor 11:20-21; Jude 12; Ignatius *Smyr* VIII. 2; Pliny, *Letters* X. 96). This was an occasion for religious fellowship among Christians, and apparently also for assistance to the needy brethren. If there was at one time a close connection between the *agape* and the Lord's Supper (cf "as they were eating" in Matt 26:21, 26; "after supper" in 1 Cor 11:25), it seems that by the second century the two observances had become separated. What is somewhat puzzling to many students of Church history is that out of these rather simple beginnings, the Churches should have fashioned their elaborate liturgies, and our perplexity is not lessened when we consider those used by the Syriac Churches. In actual fact there is an hiatus between the earliest practices of the Church and the later fully developed liturgies centering in the celebration of the Lord's Supper or Eucharist, and in our present state of knowledge this gap cannot be satisfactorily bridged.

It is in Edessa, in north-east Syria, that we find an ancient liturgy known as the *Liturgy of Saints Addai and Mari* (who supposedly had evangelized this region), the text of which is found in G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy*, pp 177-87. Because of its brevity, simplicity and basically Semitic character, this may very well be one of the earliest of the Christian liturgies. Dix observes (i) that most of it appears to be addressed to the Son, not the Father; (ii) that it does not seem to have used the Pauline narrative

(I Cor 11:23–25) about the institution of the rite; (iii) that it includes a prayer that the Holy Spirit may come and “rest upon this oblation”; and (iv) that the oblation is described as “the likeness of the passion and death and burial and resurrection of our Lord.” It is also to be noted that the oblation is “for the pardon of offences and the remission of sins, and for the great hope of resurrection from the dead and for new life in the kingdom of heaven.”

A much more developed form of worship is seen in the *Liturgy of St. James*, known and used in Antioch in the early fifth century, the text of which appears in F. E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western* 1, pp 31–68; for comments on it, see Dix, pp 187–96. This liturgy is evidently an adoption and/or expansion of the rite celebrated in Jerusalem by Bishop Cyril of that city in 348. It is presumed that there was an old rite used in Antioch in the fourth century and that it was modified by the St. James material (cf Dix, *op cit*, pp 175–77, 187–207). When we turn to look at the two main Syriac liturgies, that of the Syrian Jacobites or Monophysites and the Persian Nestorians (an ET of the text of these liturgies is found in Brightman, pp 69–110 and 247–305), it is clear that both of them must go back to a common ancestor, either to the *Liturgy of St. James* or to something closely resembling it. This indebtedness can be taken for granted in the case of the Jacobites of Persia, who had associations with Antioch as late as the early seventh century. The Jacobite use of *Kurillison* (*Syr qwry' lyswn*) is but one example of a direct borrowing by them, in this case, of the Greek *kurie eleeson* (“Lord, have mercy”). The Nestorians, in their early days, were also debtors to the West, as canon 13 of the Synod of 410 acknowledges (SO, p 266).

It is evident that as early as 410, the Nestorians were concerned with correct liturgical practice (SO, pp 263–73). In canon 9 of this Synod we read, “Each Sunday the Gospel should be read along with the other books; the Word of God should be preached until the third or fourth hour; and that the sacrifice should be offered.” These injunctions are repeated in the next century in canon 25 of the canons of Mar Aba, 544 (SO, p 559). Canon 13 of the Synod of 410 reads, “In each city the deacons shall make the ‘proclamation’ (a kind of bidding prayer at the beginning of ‘the mass of the faithful’); the Scriptures shall be read; the pure and holy oblation shall be offered in all the churches on an altar.” The ancient custom of offering the sacrifice in the homes of the faithful is no longer to be practised. The same canon enjoins that the festivals of the Church are to be observed at the same times as in the Western Church. Canon 15 reads, “In the bishop’s city, the archdeacon on Sundays shall make the ‘proclamation’ in the presence of the bishop, and he shall read the Gospel.” From canon 9 quoted above, we see that allowance is made for a sermon or homily to be preached after the readings from the Scriptures. Brightman notes (*op cit*, under “Sermon,” p 588) that the sermon “is not generally provided for in the rubrics” of the liturgies, and that “it is commonly misplaced in practice.”

As evidence of the way in which the Nestorian liturgy expanded or was altered, we draw attention to the following. Narseh, the first director of the School at Nisibis (d c 503), is said to have produced a liturgy, which must mean a revision of the one hitherto in use.⁵ Mar Aba, Catholicos 540–52, who in his younger days had learned Greek at Edessa, is credited with translating the liturgy of Nestorius, and possibly that of Theodore of Mopsuestia, from Greek into Syriac.⁶ Canons 3, 4, and 5 of his Synod of 544 deal with liturgical proprieties involving priests, deacons and sub-deacons (SO, p 556). The works of Henana of Adiabene, who became director of the School of Nisibis c 570–71, include expositions of the creed and the liturgy.⁷ It was evidently not until the time of the Catholicos Ezekiel that the name of the Catholicos was formally proclaimed in the liturgy (canon 14 of the Synod of 576; SO p 380). While the liturgy was in the process of taking on its definitive form clerics must frequently have been uncertain about correct procedures. This is illustrated by the fact that the Catholicos Jesusalib I (582–96) has given us his twenty canons. The term “canon” here is anomalous, for these rescripts did not emanate from the Synod of 585. They are the opinions of the Catholicos, written for the guidance of James, bishop of Darai, and they cover, among a variety of subjects, various points connected with the liturgy, such as, How should a priest commence his duties at the altar? When should a priest who celebrates take communion? And so on (SO, pp 424–51). We may note also that unwarranted changes in liturgical practice were frowned upon, as we may infer from the opinion on this subject voiced at the Synod of Sabarjesus held in 596 (SO, pp 459–60).

The Persian Jacobites, like the Nestorians, were not exempt from the need to elucidate their liturgy or even to amend it. Thus we learn that Marutha, the Monophysite patriarch in Persia (628–49), compiled a liturgy (improved an existing one?),⁸ and we have from the pen of the distinguished Jacobite bishop, Moses bar Kepha (d 903), a commentary on the liturgy (R. H. Connolly and W. W. Codrington, *Two Commentaries on the Jacobite Liturgy*, London, 1913, pp 24–90).⁹

No attempt will be made here to analyse the Nestorian and Jacobite texts or to demonstrate in detail their relationship to one another or to other liturgical traditions, particularly to that of St. James. We shall, however, draw attention to some minor features of the Nestorian liturgy that may be of interest to western readers. At the outset this liturgy gives the procedure for the making and baking of the loaves of the oblation, this being done in

⁵ Wright, p 59; Chabot, p 50.

⁶ Wright, p 117; Chabot, p 54.

⁷ Wright, p 127; Chabot, p 58.

⁸ Wright, p 137. Chabot (p 82) doubts whether the liturgy in question belongs to him.

⁹ A study which I have not been able to examine carefully is W. C. Macomber, *Six Explanations of the Liturgical Feasts*, CSCO 355, 356, *Scriptores Syri* 155, 156, 1974. This work is credited to one, Cyrus of Edessa, of the sixth century.

an area adjacent to the altar which is furnished with a small oven (Brightman, pp 247-49). The first part of the service, after the Prothesis and the Enarxis (see Brightman, pp 576, 586), constitutes the "Mass of the Catechumens," and here we have provision, in "the Lections," for Scripture readings, from the OT, St. Paul and the Gospel. The catechumens, not being baptized, cannot receive communion, and at an appropriate point in the proceedings (after the offertory), they have an opportunity to leave. The "Mass of the Faithful," which includes the recitation of the Creed by the priest, makes up the remainder of the service (Brightman, pp 262-305). Some of the rubrics are very precise, as for instance, "And his (the priest's) position shall be about a cubit distant from the altar, and the space between his hands of like measure" (p 274). It is in this "Mass of the Faithful" that we have the reading of the Diptychs (in Syr, "the book of life" or "the book of the living"). This recital is a prayer for the saintly dead, both biblical (commencing with Adam) and (mostly) post-biblical, most of whom are named; in Brightman's presentation this takes up pp 275-81 (cf the Jacobite counterpart, pp 91-96). It concludes with, "Also for presbyters and deacons and scholars who have departed from this church." We suspect that this last petition may give a hint about how the reading of the Diptychs originated: it probably arose out of the commemoration of the dead in a local parish. At the conclusion of the liturgy we have the "Eulogia," the distribution of the surplus bread to the worshippers.

Whatever may have been used by the Nestorians before the mid-seventh century, it was Jesusyab III, metropolitan of Ḥazza and Mosul (and later, Catholicos c 647 to 657-60), who drew up with the invaluable assistance of 'Ananjesus of the monastery of Beth 'Abe a service book (Syr *ḥwdr'*) for the Sundays of the whole year, for the Rogation of the Ninevites, for Lent, and for other special occasions such as baptism. This book in the words of Budge "has remained in use with comparatively little alteration until the present day" (*Bk of Gov*, 1, p lvi; cf 2, II, xi).

There was a musical element in the liturgical services, hymns, anthems and responsories being sung or chanted in appropriate places in the worship. Some of the hymns used were ascribed to Ephraim of the fourth century, to Narseh of the fifth century, to Jesusyab II (Catholicos 628-43), and to others. But the successful use of music in the churches was dependent on the choice of suitable items to be sung or chanted, the availability of basic musical talent, and the training the voices had received. Since, however, these conditions could not always be met, the result was that the services in churches were frequently anything but edifying. Jesusyab III tried to cope with this situation, in part, through his service book. It was not until the early eighth century that Babai "the musician" appeared, at a time as Budge puts it when "the condition of the musical portions of the services was deplorable" (*Bk of Gov* 1, p lvii). Babai, from the region of Samarra, had great musical gifts which he used in the service of the Church. He not only

founded his own school in Kephar 'Uzzel (on the east side of the Great Zab river), but in the country of Marga he founded or re-established with the help of the local nobles no fewer than twenty-four schools,¹⁰ where the pupils were taught among other things "to perform the musical portions of the services in a careful and accurate manner" (*Bk of Gov*, 1, pp lv-lix; 2, III. 1-2, pp 289-97). Budge notes that the maintenance for any length of time of a high standard of liturgical performance was difficult, and that many of the results of Babai's work had disappeared after some years. This decline in musical performance, apparent in the churches as a whole, was also seen in the monasteries, which often suffered from a dearth of good male voices and whose ascetic habits did not promote the culture of the human voice. Even the monks of Beth 'Abe had, at one time, to have an outside person, one Solomon of Beth Garmai, to teach them how to read the service book and how to sing the hymns and responses (*Bk of Gov*, 1, p lviii).

With regard to the actual church buildings in which worship was conducted, we may assume that Persian Christians followed the structural patterns used in north and north-east Syria, where all the identifiable ecclesiastical ruins are thought to date from the fourth century and later. These have been studied, mostly on the basis of surface inspection, and the findings published, by H. C. Butler (ed by E. B. Smith) in *Early Churches in Syria* (1929). The typical church in this area was the basilica, oriented to the east, and basically it consisted of two parts, the nave and the sanctuary. But this primary plan was subject to endless variations, as the ruins testify. For the ground plan of what might be called the average Nestorian church, see the diagram on p l iii in *Bk of Gov*, vol 1. For a good description of the ruins of the Church of St. Sergius (*Qasr Serif*), sixty km north-west of Mosul, see D. Oates, *Studies in the Ancient History of Northern Iraq* (Oxford 1968), pp 106-17. This was a Monophysite structure, and dates probably from the sixth century.

4. Canon Law of the Western Syrian Church.

A comment on two recent studies by A. Vööbus, *Die syrische Kanonesammlungen I-II* (1970), and *The Synodicon in the West Syrian Tradition I-IV* (1975-76).

Each of these works is in fact a *mélange*, and each ranges over a considerable span of time. Volume 1 of *Kanonesammlungen* (pp 1-262), for instance, furnishes us with the canons of general synods from 785 to 1174 (pp 5-88), and, in another section, the canons of local synods from 629 to 1153 (pp 89-121). There are the canons of Rabbula (pp 128-138), and of others, including John of Tella and Jacob of Edessa (pp 138-212); in the

¹⁰ The location of these is given in *Bk of Gov* 2, III. ii, pp 296-97.

midst of these is a section on ordination (pp 146-156). The materials in pp 216-262 come from the Islamic period. Volume 2 (pp 263-561) records Question and Answer Sessions from the sixth to the ninth century (pp 263-303). It gives us canons for monks or for monasteries from Rabbula to the twelfth century (pp 307-398), and the canons of Dionysius bar Šalibi (d 1171) in pp 405-439. At this point the editor supplies a description of the manuscript resources for the subject (pp 440-498). The major topic near the end of the volume is the codification work of Bar Hebraeus (pp 499-552).

The *Synodicon* volumes are similarly varied in their content. Volume 1 gives us the Testament of the Lord, with canons (pp 27-64); a collection of all the canons of the holy apostles and synods (pp 65-83); the canons of the ecumenical synods from Nicaea to Chalcedon (pp 95-138); the canons of John, bishop of Tella (pp 142-151); the canons for monks established by Rabbula (pp 152-154); the teaching of Addai the Apostle (pp 187-197); etc. It concludes with the canons of Jacob of Edessa (pp 245-247). Volume 2 gives us the canons of the Patriarch George, 758-790 (pp 2-7); those of the Patriarch Qyriacos, 793-819 (pp 7-18), and of other Patriarchs (pp 19-48, 53-68); the laws of the Christian kings, Constantinus, Theodosius, and Leo (pp 97-157); a record of the 154 episcopal sees under Antioch (pp 189-194); the canons of the monastery of Mar Mattai (pp 197-208). Pages 212-269 relate to the Islamic period, as does some of the earlier material.

Clearly, all the contents of the *Kanonensammlungen* and the *Synodicon* volumes are invaluable, although they would be more useful if their materials were arranged chronologically. In any case, they need to be critically evaluated, and their relationship, if any, to canons of the Greek Church established. We could then use them more freely to throw light on the internal life of the Syriac Church. This is a very demanding and important task, but in a survey such as this volume offers it cannot be attempted here.

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